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SLAVERY *vs.* ABOLITION.

THE specious accounts which from time to time reach us from the West Indies describing the happy, independent, and contented condition of the "*liberated children* of *Ethiop's daughters*," would naturally lead to the inference that the so called boon of "*emancipation*, *social liberty*, and *equal rights*," are indeed a blessing to those for whom the elevation was designed by the "designing clique" which, from the days of Wilberforce to the present, have been untiring in their exertions and machinations to induce the masses to believe that "*all men are born free and equal.*" But to the calm and astute observer the designs of this class of philanthropists need no aid of million power microscopes to enable him readily to unmask them, as well as expose the sophistries and falsehoods which are daily paraded to the world, as equally, to refute the pernicious doctrines disseminated broadcast over our land.

While the negroes, evidently designed and made not to be the masters of the world or have dominion given them to rule over their brother man, there are to be found, after years of experience, apart from the evidences of the inferiority they possess, a class of individuals, both here and in Europe, who prostitute time and intellect to persuade the white man that the negro is capable of receiving the same impressions as that of the Caucasian and the other races; who have through centuries demonstrated their capacity for self government and inadaptibility of being enslaved, and although the grand experiment of "emancipation" has now had a fair and impartial trial, firstly in the British former slave colonies since 1838, and in those of other powers at a later date up to the

present time, with all the "social advantages" at command of the unfettered and liberated, yet up to this moment nothing but vague conjectures can be indulged in as to the future working of the measure, unless, indeed, we draw the hypothesis that those who have contended that "equality" will elevate the negro to the position of the white man are most certainly running after a myth.

The LONDON TIMES, at the period when the Exeter Hall clique was all dominant, gave its columns in aid of the measure which was inevitably to bring the British slave colonies from the highest pinnacle of wealth and contentment, to the now present debased and demoralized condition of degradation, ruin, and penury, now candidly and emphatically declares its views on emancipation in the following undeniable commentary. It says:

"The worthy men whe extinguished slavery and ruined our West India possessions are very touchy, very obstinate, very incontrovertible on that tender point. It is not our business to deny them much justice aud truth on their side, or to stand up for the planters, who took up a line which repelled all reasonable advocacy. But, confessedly, taking that grand summary view of the question which we cannot help taking after a quarter of a century, the process was a failure; it destroyed an immense property, ruined thousands of good families, degraded the negroes still lower than they were, and after all increased the mass of slavery in less scrupulous hands. After many attempts at indirect discouragement, we have been obliged at last to recognize and admit persistent slave owners to an equal rank in our commerce. Everybody who comes fresh into the question, uncompromised and unbiased, admits the failure, and asks why we did not attempt the gradual or spontaneous emancipation, if it was, indeed, utterly impossible to improve the practice of slavery into something more like that we read of in sacred as well as classical antiquity. The more these questions are asked and the more these doubts abound, the more positive are the men of the past that they did right in their days, and that they cannot be improved upon in our days."

We can readily perceive, that however rampant the "Thunderer" was at the period referred to, it now willingly if not cheerfully abandons the chimera of the then day, and conclusively admits, that the Exeter Hall negropholists have had full opportunity to find that the results of their "grand experiment" affords them the lamentable fact; that their "*brotherly love*" was not potent enough to turn aside the current and designs of Nature or Nature's God, and that the negro of whatever sphere he may be in is incapable of self-government—*that slavery is his natural and foreordained condition*, and that, in no other can he, or does he reach to that high point of civilization and mental improvement, which his instincts lead him to while in bondage. Although "floods of pathetic eloquence," and long years of parliamentary struggling, taught the English people to imagine that the world was made for "Sambo," still have no evidences been furnished to disprove the theories which

ethnology adduces to confute the stubborn fact now so patent to all who will read and learn.

The authority of men who, in the present time, have given this subject deep thought and attention is worthy of serious consideration and reflection.

A letter written not long since to Victor Hugo, on the subject of emancipation, holds the following apposite and truthful picture of the negro:

"In Africa, the negro, according to Egyptian paintings at least four or five thousand years old, (and to which double that age has recently been assigned,) has been, for at least the former period, in contact with civilization. He is still unchanged in type and in condition.

"The cultivation of the Egyptian, of the Persian, of the Greek, of the Carthaginian, of the Roman, and of the Arab, have left him what they found him—a barbarian, a savage, or a slave.

"Since the Declaration of American Independence, left to himself in Hayti, with the advantage of a large number of highly educated half-breeds to direct him, you know the savagery into which he has relapsed. Hardly has the grotesque despotism and virtual servitude which Souloque imposed been superseded by the Presidency of Geffrard (said to be a bright exception to his race) when you have a hideous sample of Haytien civilization in the unprecedented murder of his unoffending daughter.

"In the West India islands the free negro has rich lands, a congenial climate, and protection against self-imposed despotism or slavery. In Canada, and in the free States of the North, he is surrounded by highly civilized majorities, who extend to him countenance, sympathy, and aid. Yet what is everywhere the result? Left to himself, he falls into barbarism, despotism, and virtual servitude."

All who have visited the once garden spot of the Antilles (Jamaica) agree on one point, however much they may otherwise have felt a predisposition to garble facts or gloss over the condition of the once happy but now wretched peasantry, and all agree that "*the masses of the population will retrograde to barbarism,*" and that in speaking of the decline of the industrial interests of that island, they assert "*that it has been going on from year to year, daily becoming more alarming until at length the island has reached what would appear to be the last profound of distress and misery.*"

Governor Wood, of Ohio, on his way to Valparaiso in 1853, speaks thus of what he witnessed in Jamaica:

"We saw many plantations, the buildings dilapidated; fields of sugar cane half worked and apparently poor, and nothing but that which will grow without labor appeared luxuriant and flourishing.

"Since the blacks have been liberated they have become indolent, insolent, degraded, and dishonest. They are a rude beastly set of vagabonds, lying naked about the streets, as filthy as the Hottentots, and I believe worse."

Bishop Kip, who certainly can be relied on for veracity, visited that island and says:

"The depth of degradation to which the negro population has sunk is, we are told, indescribable."

A larger and more voluminous amount of incontrovertible testimony could be easily and readily adduced to prove the fallacy of the "grand scheme," and of the incapacity of the negro to appreciate the boon of freedom, but it would almost be an act of supererogation to indulge therein further than to say in this connexion, quoting from the "London Times," in a recent article on the "*stricken island*," which says, speaking of the direful results of emancipation there:

"The negro has not acquired with his freedom any habits of industry or morality. His independence is but little better than that of an uncaptured brute. Having accepted few of the restraints of civilization, he is amenable to few of its necessities. The blacks, therefore, instead of becoming intelligent husbandmen, have become vagrants and squatters; and it is now apprehended that, with the failure of cultivation in the island, will come the failure of its resources for instructing or controlling its population."

The degraded condition of these liberated creatures is, beyond peradventure, the very best indication of that to which our negroes in the south would occupy if they were to be set free; and although professions of regard for their supposed rights, even although they were carried out by the abolitionists of the north to the disruption and destruction of those covenants and conservative bonds which the framers of our Constitution made, as well as the cutting of that knot which binds all the States in one common brotherhood, the question is one which is readily answered as to what would be the condition of four millions of beings if set free.

Turn them loose on society; enact laws, if you please, by which they are to be governed; but a condition of things would naturally follow as to render the south intolerable for the *white man*, or the alternative produced of anarchy and bloodshed, if not extermination, become the consequence of the suicidal act of maddened folly.

As in Jamaica and other *free* colonies, so also in the south, (where the north finds a ready and well-paying market for the industry and energy of the white laborer, arising from the wealth which abounds through its length and breadth, produced at the price of slave labor,) would it become little less than a wilderness, cutting off the means of support to hundreds and thousands of artisans in the sister States north; and the very liberty given to the negro would only be used to revel in laziness, thieving, and debauchery, tainting the very surrounding atmosphere with idleness, ruin, and crime. Life nor property would be safe, and ere the land could recover the convulsion which would, beyond all doubt, result from the "anxious love" of the abolitionist for his black brother, the

now fertile and ready yielding land would relapse into its primeval condition.

The incitation of the sectarian preachers in Jamaica, from the early inception in the British Parliament by the "friends" up to the period of the rebellion in that island in 1831–'32, affords ample opportunity to the reflecting mind to notice the similarity of determination on the part of the abolitionists in the north to imperil the bonds which bind society in the south, and to place, if possible, the relative position of master and slave on the brink of that volcano which burst with such direful and terrific results on that island at the time afore stated.

These sectarians had imbued the idea of freedom upon the then slaves that it had taken a strong hold of their minds, and which was fostered by the artful doctrines of these "men of God," and who clothed and clouded their addresses from the pulpit to their negro audiences with a perpetual false interpretation of the Scriptures to so alarming an extent; that it was found, that the negroes made it the constant theme of their conversation, while the effects thereof were visible on every side in their altered and sullen demeanor, in the too apparent mystery and the insolent reluctance, with which they discharged their ordinary duties to their masters, and which broke out into those fearful scenes which to this day are remembered with feelings of horror by those who still survive.

By preconcerted plans, if not at the instigation of the preachers referred to, (who it was afterwards, on the courts-martial which had perforce to sit in judgment on the violators of the peace of the country,) it was too easily discovered that they were the pliant tools of the Exeter Hall fanatics, and that it was through their instrumentality that the negroes were urged into a state of rebellion. Headed, as they were, by pseudo-military rebel chiefs, and armed with muskets which they covertly obtained during the week assigned them (as was always the case) to make their purchases for the enjoyment of the Christmas holydays, the opportunity was embraced for laying in stores of powder and ball, and which were labelled porter and ale, (of which luxury they then were not only fond of but indulged in as a garnishment to treat their friends.) In sorrow be it said, that these articles of destruction (powder and ball) were sold to them by a miscreant named Woodgate, who it was clearly proven was a minion of Exeter Hall, and so quietly was the plan of operations conducted, that nought was known of it until the signal fires from the hill tops warned

the too confiding master and his employé that the firebrand was upon them.

No less than sixty-four magnificent sugar plantations were laid in ruins; the growing canes ripe for the sickle were set fire to, the machinery for grinding them entirely, maliciously, and wantonly destroyed; the demon of carnage rode upon the winds, and acts committed on unoffending white females which the pen refuses to depict, but which, even at this now distant day, the mind recoils while thinking on, and the blood almost chills which animates it. The scenes lately enacted in the East Indian rebellion hardly bears comparison to the acts of brutality and outrage then perpetrated.

The exertions of the Exeter Hall fanatics culminated in this rebellion, and KNIBBE, BURCHELL, and others were too ready to save their necks by flight to the United States, when they (too late) discovered that they had raised a tornado in the mind of the negroes, who they had *impressed* with the belief that the British Parliament had given them their freedom, but that the master withheld it from them.

This was but the prelude to emancipation, costing, as the rebellion did, not only the sacrifice of life, and immense treasures in loss of property, still, when order again reigned supreme, did the anti-slavery society in England become more vigilant and arrogant. In order to diffuse (as they then asserted and published to the world) their inflammatory publications, lecturers were appointed to traverse the whole country, (Great Britain,) so as to poison the public mind, and sectarian tools, elevated in name to that of preachers, were shipped to the West Indies under the specious plea of teaching the slave "salvation of the soul" and "belief in Christ," but in reality to infuse a hatred in his mind towards his master and the institution which held him in bondage.

And what has been the result of the great boon purchased by the toil of the laboring white man in Great Britain, and who was ignorant of the results to which he was asked to petition Parliament by affixing his sign manual to a *monster petition?*

Since the passage of that bill in 1832, there have been no less than about four hundred extensive sugar, and eight hundred large coffee plantations entirely abandoned, whilst numerous minor ones, with others of smaller import which yielded in the gross extensive matter for export, have fallen into disuse and decay.

Upwards of eighty thousand laborers have been consequently

thrown out of employment, to depend on their own resources, or to bask in the sunshine and follow the bent of their vicious and brutal propensities. Property of a consequence of inestimable value is at this moment barely worth the taxes imposed on it; while every branch of agriculture and its handmaiden, commerce, is fast decaying into a mere name.

The following table of export may furnish some feeble idea of the ruin which has followed on the footsteps of the mock philanthropy which induced its apostles to crush the West Indies.

In Jamaica we find that in:

	Hhds.
1830 to 1832, (3 y'rs) the export in sugar was	295,772
1846 to 1848, (3 y'rs) " "	126,989
While in 1858 it was reduced to.....	33,031

	Lbs.
1830 to 1832, (3 y'rs) the export in coffee was	56,126,310
1846 to 1848, (3 y'rs) " "	18,153,213
While in 1858 it was reduced to.....	5,237,689

If these figures be not enough to furnish testimony of the injury resulting from liberating the negro, who can at this day find ample and remunerative employment on the plantations which the proprietors would still be willing to reclaim from decay, we would direct the dispassionate attention of those engaged in commerce to those statistics which are so easily availed of to prove the reduction of our own trade in export to that island, confining ourselves to the fact that in 1858, in comparison with that of 1841, she imported from us and the mother country as follows:

	1841.	1858.
Flour, barrels	127,820	94,038
Meal, "	25,995	14,081
Bread, "	16,000	none.
Bread, cwt.	2,200	3,024
Corn, bushels	83,718	29,704
Beef, barrels	3,455	3,024
Pork, "	21,185	12,012

When we take into consideration that these articles form but a very small proportion of the *necessaries* which were absolutely required to *feed* the slave, but that an immense amount of money was expended by the proprietory body for *staves*, *lumber*, &c., for their sugar and coffee plantations, we can readily perceive the *injury* it is to us as a mercantile people, which emancipation has caused.

The abolitionists may say that it becomes a matter of small import if the negro will not yield his labor, to produce the great staples of the tropics, as they "*require too much physical exertion,*" but that the "*free man*" cultivates his own acres for his own benefit, with articles requiring less exertion. Truly, Jamaica is a garden which revels in a perpetual summer, and where nature requires but little to enable the "sweat of the brow" to reap the rich fruits of the earth.

To such argument we would remark that, in the inferior productions, viz.: ginger, and which article was exported prior to emancipation in large quantities, and only requires but small attention, and barely more than the labor of women and children, still, in 1858, it fell off to 709,620 lbs. against 1,888,400 lbs. in 1845; while pimento, (after emancipation,) which requires barely any cultivation, and but very *light* labor to gather when in season, fell off in the crops of three years to nearly two millions of pounds, to that which was shipped during the same period preceding it.

While this lamentable picture presents itself to the reflecting mind, who views the gradual though certain decay of the "Gem of the Antilles," we direct attention to the sure and certain decrease of the population. In 1833, when the census was taken, necessary to the valuation which was made to apportion out the twenty millions pounds sterling which were given as a remuneration for the then slave property, there were in Jamaica 311,692 colored beings under ownership, but since that time, such has been the want of consideration for the offspring on the part of mothers, and care for the aged, by those who natural ties bind together among our own kindred and fellow man, that the decrease amounts to at least twenty-five per cent, on the number known to have been alive at the time above stated. Truly, the cholera, in 1853, was terrifically severe in its ravages in that island among the negro population, but the decimation to a great extent, arose from the want of those finer feelings which demand and command attention to suffering humanity, and which induced their former masters to open the hand of liberality and tenderness to the poor suffering masses.

No less a sum than $230,000 was donated by the local legislature to aid in dispensing relief to the afflicted, and to prevent the scourge from depopulating the island of those who, if left to their own brutal instincts, would have permitted all near and dear to them to perish. Think of this, ye philanthropists of the north, and ask yourselves the question whether

one of your body would be as ready and willing to spend your dollars for the many deluded "runaways" among you, should, unfortunately, "the destroying angel" come in your midst.

But the decrease of the population, up to this present time, is mainly attributable to neglect of the aged, and that most horrible propensity for which the "enlarged constituency" are so prone to avail themselves of to save the trouble of rearing their progeny, as well to resort to those means which prevent an increase in the human family. So well and so readily is the latter crime managed, that the laws for its prevention cannot be enforced, and day after day witnesses acts of abomination, which, sooner or later, will strengthen the scheme of degradation and beastiality which is rearing its head to plunge these children of Ham into darkness equal only to that from which they sprung, realizing the idea enunciated by Allison, when speaking of emancipation, viz.: "The negroes who, in a state of slavery, were comfortable and properly cared for, and prosperous beyond any peasantry in the world, and rapidly approaching the condition of the most opulent serfs in Europe, *have been, by the act of emancipation, irretrievably consigned to a state of barbarism.*"

Repugnant as this picture may be, still, with all the well directed efforts of the English government and local authorities to afford Christian teachings, and furnish education to these sable freemen, will crime reign rampant, and the statistics of the island, (Jamaica,) do clearly demonstrate the proposition, that whereas, prior to emancipation, no need existed for a penitentiary, crime has made such rapid strides in the community, more especially among the "*freed blacks*," that there is never less than from five to six hundred male convicts confined in the one; which the legislature found it imperatively necessary to erect, in order to confine those who preferred crime to earning their living, as designed by the great Creator. Nor is violation of the laws confined to the male population, but the records show that the "gentler sex" are guilty of enormities which render them amenable to the penalty which follows, and at this time there is probably not less than four or five hundred in prison, in the female penitentiary in Jamaica. Apart from these general prisons, there are in each parish, (synonymous with our counties,) a gaol for the confinement and punishment of those who commit the lesser crimes, and which too, unfortunately, are always supplied with an overabundance of inmates.

A distinguished abolition missionary, sent from England to

Jamaica to labor among the free negroes, and to furnish evidence to the world of their capacity for civilization, says:

"That nothing, save the furnishing of the people with ample means of education and religious instruction, *will save them from relapsing into a state of barbarism.*"

This has been tried, but proved to be abortive and futile.

The annual report of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, in 1853, says:

"The friends of emancipation in the United States have been disappointed, in some respects, at the results in the West Indies, because they expected too much. A nation of slaves cannot at once be converted into a nation of intelligent, industrious, and moral freemen."

And again:

"Licentiousness prevails to a most alarming extent among the people. The almost universal prevalence of intemperance is another prolific source of the moral darkness and degradation of the people;"

clearly demonstrating to those who will understand the truth, and not permit themselves to be led away by the abstract fallacy which the abolitionist does, that it is a useless task "*to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear,*" or to "*throw pearls before swine.*"

Those whom God has designed to be a servant to servants can never be brought to understand or appreciate the blessings of freedom, light of the Gospel, reverence for laws, or advantages of education.

In the discussion of measures, which, whether they would benefit the slave or otherwise, the ruin of the proprietor necessarily becomes involved, together with the many millions of property therewith, and it surely would be unreasonable to expect any degree of coolness, deliberation, or temper, on the part of those who are so constantly urging the necessity of such measures, who are themselves safe, at a distance from the convulsions they desire to give birth to, or are to have comparatively little or no share in the ruin their schemes are likely to bring on their fellow citizens. The threats that they too oft and repeated use from the pulpit and forum, and which were stated in the former article in our last, are not less violent than those that lost England those colonies, which at this moment are her equal in everything, and which, if left to work out the great destiny the future presents to the statesman and far-seeing man, will truly afford a spectacle to the world, such as has never yet been written on the pages of history.

The present resident of the north, may go back and inquire whether the descendants of the slaves now in the south, are not the children of those who were brought from Africa and

sold into slavery, *by the progenitors of these very men* who are now the most loud mouthed for the abrogation of what they style, an "obnoxious institution." Let them go back to the early history of this country, and see if England was not the power to land the first negro slave on the shores of our now fair land. It might appear a mockery, but is nevertheless an historical fact, that so *piously* did the British regard the slave trade, that one of their "human pens" was called the JESUS, whose owner, one Hawkins, was, during the time he was engaged in the African slave trade, knighted by his Queen, (Elizabeth,) for the great and important service he had rendered her government, by introducing this new source of wealth into her colonies.

See what Walsh's Appeal says:

"It proved lucrative, and immediately associations were formed in England, among the most opulent and distinguished men of the country, to follow up the adventure. Soon the object began to be considered as of national importance; and so early as the 16th century, James I, a royal charter was granted to a number of eminent citizens of London, as a joint stock company, to carry on a trade to Africa, with an exclusive privilege. The private merchants, envious of the harvest which seemed to await the company, interloped upon the African coast, and so embarrassed the trade that the charter was abandoned. Another company was created by Charles I, but it shared the same fate from the same cause—the cupidity and misconduct of the unlicensed adventurers."

From Davanant's Reflections on the African Trade we quote:

"On the accession of Charles II, a representation being made to him that the British plantations in America were, by degrees, advancing to such a condition as necessarily required a greater yearly supply of servants and laborers than could well be spared from England without the danger of depopulating his Majesty's native dominions; his Majesty did (upon account of supplying these plantations with negroes) publicly invite all his subjects to the subscription of a new joint stock, for recovering and carrying on the trade to Africa."

And can not these "loud denunciators and execrators" tax many of their own immediate ancestors, as well present relatives, with being foremost in gaining wealth and *position* by having been, as they are at present engaged in this most nefarious of all traffics?

Do not evidences present themselves every day, at this very moment, that the slave trade is thriving under the prostitution of the purity of our national flag by the citizens of that very portion of our Union whence emanate those anathemas and fulminations against the south—who never trafficked in the kidnapped African, or was instrumental in aiding or abetting in the horrors of the middle passage?

Let these questions be candidly replied to, and the agitators, who, like Daniel O'Connell, only agitate for agitation sake, look to Jamaica, once so fertile, yielding immense wealth to the

mother country, as to worthily deserve the name of the "Gem of the Antilles," (with a third of a million of once happy and contented people, knowing no want or having no care for the morrow, but now rapidly relapsing into degradation and barbarism,) but now desolate; her magnificent plantations running to waste and overrun with weeds; her once princely dwellings gone to decay; the shipping which teemed in hundreds on her numerous harbors never appearing again thereon; the comforts of life which industry produced cut off; her white inhabitants helpless; the negroes demoralized; and no hope left that she will ever recover from the death struggle she is left in for life, given her by the blow dealt out by the hand of fanaticism and false philanthropy; let them, we say, declare whether they wish or desire to see the south—the mine from which the larger portion of their wealth is drawn whereby the masses of the north are sustained—become a prey to the demon they wish to devastate it with, and make it similar to the picture above painted for them to gaze on.

And if, perchance, some readers may carp and quibble at it and say that the northern States have abandoned slavery, the position, however it may be correct, is but on an abstract point, for most assuredly would our brethren, quick as they are at "*turning the penny*," have still continued the "institution" had it been a paying one, but they found it was unprofitable, yet still are perfectly satisfied to erect their *institutions* of the north with its magnificent workshops, mills, &c., on the product and wealth which slavery begets.

They must also reflect, and that too without prejudice, "the south has never been *an importer of slaves*, but that they were *forced* on her.

"The north has been.

"The south has never reduced freemen to *slavery*.

"The north has reduced millions to perpetual slavery, they and their posterity.

"The guilt of slavery, of making slaves, stains not the south.

"It does crimson the north all over.

"The south protested against the introduction of slavery, and passed laws prohibiting it, which were vetoed by royalty.

"The south petitioned and remonstrated with the royal authority against the injustice and injury of slavery.

"When the north desired to get rid of slavery it had the means of doing so, and at the same time of realizing the full value of every slave, and of getting them without trouble or expense beyond their borders."

And, that the framers of our Constitution deemed it best to continue (under its compromises) those things which they found when the colonies were attached to the mother country, and not to attempt to disturb those relations which would have precluded them from handing down to us the glorious heritage we have, and which can be made to endure if the rights of the south are not tampered with or any attempt made to destroy them.

Turning from Jamaica, which, alas! presents too pitiable a picture from the effects of emancipation, we shall present some home truths to the observation of those who may sneer at our views, and present the present abject position of St. Domingo, that at one time was blessed with the progress of civilization, and which country, from the peculiar advantages she possessed, was properly, while belonging to the French, called the "Queen of the Antilles."

There certainly never was a better opportunity afforded the sons of Africa to break the bonds of ignorance, sloth, and degradation, and to acquire the blessings of civilization than those who inhabited that once productive isle; but what has been the result of the revolution and bloodshed that separated her from her mother?

"In 1789, the island of Hayti (then St. Domingo) was the brightest jewel in the French crown. At that period the western portion, or only about one-third of the whole island, was all that belonged to France, and yet, such was the richness of its soil, that this little tract of land comprised, with its abundant products, two thirds of the exterior commerce of France.* Such was the activity of its trade that more than sixteen hundred vessels of various sizes entered its ports in a single year.† The island then possessed 793 sugar plantations, 735 cotton plantations, more than three thousand coffee plantations, and as many more devoted to the cultivation of indigo; horses, mules, oxen, and other cattle, were abundant; the finest roads connected its different ports and cities, and its princely planters lived in a style of luxury and magnificence rarely equalled in that day, and now almost unknown throughout the Antilles. Some idea of its trade may be formed by a glance at its leading exports, which were of

Clayed sugar	47,516,531 lbs.
Muscovado sugar	93,573,300 "

Les Colonies etrangeres, et Haiti, par Victor Schœlcher, p. 88.

† Macgregor, adopting tables prepared by order of the French government, makes the number of vessels entered in 1789, seventeen hundred. See *Progress of America*. Schœlcher states the number to be 1,578, citing the authority of Col. Malenfaut.

Coffee	76,835,219	lbs.
Cotton	7,004,274	"
Indigo*	758,628	"

This state of prosperity was suddenly interrupted by the French revolution. By the exertions of the abolitionists of France, (*les amis des noirs,*) a feud was commenced between the whites and mulattoes of St. Domingo, which soon extended to the blacks, and ended in the open revolt of all the slaves in the island. Most persons are familiar with the history of the bloody massacres which occurred between 1791 and 1804, during which year the independence of Hayti was proclaimed. The white race, being more than thirty thousand persons, were completely exterminated, as well as large numbers of the mulattoes. In the first two months of the insurrection it is estimated that the negroes had massacred two thousand whites, and destroyed more than a thousand coffee, sugar, cotton, and indigo plantations, while ten thousand of the number were supposed to have perished in the field, and hundreds more by the hand of the executioner. In short, it is reckoned that between 1791 and 1804, one hundred and fifty thousand persons perished in this bloody contest of races. Nevertheless, in the latter year, the island was fully in possession of the negroes, its independence acknowledged, and a Negro Emperor seated on its throne, so that it might reasonably have been expected that prosperity and happiness would soon be restored, and the industry of the country be developed. The futility of these expectations cannot be better illustrated than by an examination of the following table, showing the exports from the island of the three leading articles of produce, from the year 1789 to 1841† The decline in the produce of sugar is remarkable, and may be accounted for from the fact that its cultivation requires much more labor than is necessary for the raising of coffee; and we are told by M. Schœlcher that sugar is now actually *imported* into the island.

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* Macgregor. † Macgregor. *Progress, &c.*

Exports from St. Domingo from 1789 *to* 1841.

YEAR.	Clayed sugar. lbs.	Muscovado sugar. lbs.	Cotton, lbs.	Coffee, lbs.
1789	47,516,531	93,573,300	7,004,274	76,835,219
1801	16,540	18,518,572	2,480,340	43,420,470
1818	198	5,443,567	474,118	26,065,200
1819	157	3,790,143	216,103	29,240,919
1820	2,787	2,514,502	346,839	35,137,759
1821	.....	600,934	820,563	29,925,951
1822	.....	200,454	592,368	24,235,372
1823	.....	14,920	332,266	33,802,837
1824	.....	5,106	1,028,045	44,269,084
1825	.....	2,020	815,697	36,034,300
1826	.....	32,864	629,972	32,189,784
1835	.....	1,097	.....	48,352,371
1836	.....	16,199	.....	37,662,674
1837	.....	.....	.....	30,845,400
1840	.....	741	922,575	46,126,272
1841	.....	1,363	1,591,454	34,114,717

Thus the island of the western world which first produced sugar, and which, during a period of three centuries, gradually increased its export of that article until it reached one hundred and fifty millions of pounds, immediately on falling into the hands of negro masters neglects almost entirely its production, so that, at the end of fifty years, four hundred and fifty thousand stout negroes, who love sugar, as all negroes do, are obliged to import it for their own consumption, an unparalleled example of indolence!

The production of coffee has fallen off more than one half, and yet the raising of coffee requires hardly any labor, and that of the lightest kind. The mountain sides, says Mr. McKenzie, are covered with coffee trees of spontaneous growth, which only need clearing to make them most productive, and at least two thirds of the coffee cultivated, he was informed, was lost for want of labor.* But not only is the cultivation of this article neglected, but what is gathered is badly prepared. When properly cleaned and separated, the coffee of Hayti has always been considered superior to any in the West Indies, but now it is so badly prepared that it is in but little repute in the European markets, and these same remarks are applicable to Haytian cotton, cocoa, and logwood.†

* *Notes on Hayti*, by Charles McKenzie, esq , late H. B. M. consul in Hayti, vol. i., p. 96.

† Macgregor. *Progress*, &c., vol. i., p. 1200.

Within the memory of many men now living, this little section of the island now under consideration exported *forty times* as much cotton as the United States, but in less than half a century, say in the year 1841, the United States exported more than *five hundred* times as much as Hayti! A wonderful commentary on the effects of industry.*

The decline of the property of this portion of the island under "self government" by Afric's sons is here given as a nut (for those who know it not) to chew, and on which they can reflect to what a depth of degradation it has arrived.

Years.	Sugar, white.	Sugar, brown.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Indigo.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*			
1789	47,516,531	93,573,300	76,835,219	7,004,274	758,628
1801	16,540	18,518,572	43,420,270	2,480,340	804
1818	198	5,443,567	26,065,200	474,118	none
1821	none	600,934	29,925,951	820,563	"
1826	"	32,864	32,189,784	620,972	"

Thus it will be seen that those products which required *continuous labor* and energy have nearly altogether disappeared in the list of valuable exports, while the following table will exhibit the quantities of cotton, coffee, cocoa, logwood, and tobacco which have been exported from Hayti from 1835 to 1849, leaving the "economist" to solve the reason, and showing the rapid decrease of export of the principal staples (coffee, cotton, and tobacco) during a period of but few years, although no spot on earth affords finer facilities for their cultivation. But the "*nigger*" would be compelled to bestow "*labor on them,*" and hence prefers to cut logwood or run the chance of the cocoa crop, (both of which require but little or no cultivation,) turning out good or bad as the season may by chance direct.

Years.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Cocoa.	Logwood.	Tobacco.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
1835	48,325,371	1,649,717	397,321	13,293,737	2,086,606
1840	46,126,272	922,575	442,365	39,283,205	1,725,389
1845	41,002,571	557,480	836,004	68,181,588	5,609
1846	33,508,179	570,061	630,102	59,933,868	576
1847	48,388,699	525,083	1,171,520	32,795,670	.....
1848	37,630,435	411,463	905,895	36,340,072	.....
1849	30,608,343	544,126	664,516	86,232,580	.....

* In 1791 the United States exported only 189,316 lbs. of cotton.—*McCulloch.*

At this time, (1860,) after nearly sixty years of self-government, what have they done for education? A few years back there were but TEN public schools in Hayti, with scarcely over a thousand pupils out of a population of seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and which education was mainly then, as now, monopolized by the mixed breeds; for, according to Mr. Candler, who visited that country in 1842, he found that the government* "has provided no schools for boys except in the larger towns, and for girls nowhere; while in the country, where at least seven-eighths of the population are to be found, there is as much ignorance as in the days of slavery."

Mr. Harvey, who also visited that country in 1841, says,† "the duty on books was seventy-five per cent. *ad valorem.*"

But if education is in so debased a position, the condition of the people in respect to religion is still more deplorable. "The Haytians," writes Mr. Harvey, "were utterly destitute of the means of moral instruction. Though the Catholic faith was professedly the religion of the country, (it being thought necessary, for the sake of appearance, to have some form of religious belief,) yet few of the Romish clergy were to be found in Hayti; and during a part of Christophe's reign, a Spanish priest whom he had invited to the island was the *sole ecclesiastic in his dominions.* This man, also, like his patron, was an infidel, and so regardless was he of consistency of conduct, and so confirmed in his unbelief, that he was not ashamed to avow it openly.‡ The description of Christophe and his court, as given by the gentleman just cited, was certainly not calculated to produce in the minds of the people much respect for religion." "Vain," he says, "of their limited acquirements, and resolved on being distinguished from the superstitious vulgar, they held all religions in sovereign contempt, and despised Christianity, especially as one of the many systems of priestcraft by which mankind has been deluded and enslaved. Impatient of all restraint, and rejecting the distinctions of virtue and vice, as though imaginary, they gave free scope to their base passions, and would suffer no obstacle to oppose their indulgence. One of their barons, who filled an important office in the state, was known to have no less than six women in keeping, and many of the dukes and counts were equally abandoned."

That the clergy in Hayti are excessively immoral, all who

* Notices of Hayti, by John Candler, pp. 74–76.
† Sketches of Hayti, by W. W. Harvey, p. 207.
‡ Harvey, p. 307.

visited that island for information and observation, to discover if possible the adaptability of "free negroes" to govern themselves, agree on the one point.

Mr. Schœlcher says that the curates live openly with one or two women, and that, far from instructing the people, they encourage their foolish superstitions. One receives ten dollars for prayers designed to produce rain, which a laborer requires for his crops; another five dollars for exorcising an old woman, &c. In this and other objectionable ways they gain large sums of money; besides which, they make something by their rivalry with the makers of *grisgris*, philtres, charms, and other such like articles.*

The Rev. S. W. Hanna heard from a respectable authority the same story of priestly Mormonism.†

In Gonaives, a town of five thousand inhabitants, at the time of Mr. Candler's visit, there was no public worship of any kind, and he sums up his opinion of the religious condition of the island in the following words: "*Satan, the grand deceiver, wears in this land of moral darkness a fourfold face—infidelity, ignorance, heathen superstition, and a religion* (as taught by many of their priests) *of folly and lies.* One or the other of these qualities may be said to frown in every quarter."

As to labor, it appears from the authority of those who have at various times visited this island, that the men prefer sauntering, idling, talking, and playing games of chance;‡ while the few young females that live on plantations seldom assist in any labor whatever, but live in a constant state of idleness and debauchery. This is tolerated by the soldiery and military police, whose licentiousness is gratified by this means.§

"In the plain of Cayes, which, in 1789, according to Moreau St. Mery, was one of the finest and most flourishing in the island, it was, at the time of Mr. McKenzie's visit, almost impossible to procure laborers: the very little field labor effected was generally performed by elderly people, principally old Guinea negroes; no measures of the government could induce the creoles to labor, or depart from their habitual licentiousness and vagrancy. The whole body of proprietors constantly lamented the total incapacity of the government to

* Schœlcher, pp 293, 295.
† Notes of a Visit to some parts of Hayti, by Rev. S. W. Hanna, p. 65.
‡ McKenzie, p. 101.
§ McKenzie, p. 101.

enforce labor.* Nor did this unwillingness to work arise from want of incentives, but from sheer laziness. 'In spite of the inducements of better wages than were usually paid,' says the writer just quoted, 'and of punctual payment every Saturday, I could rarely, if ever, get the same set of people to work two weeks continuously. I found that the produce of one week's exertions, if they could be called so, enabled the laborer to enjoy for a considerable period his chief luxury—rum; and the necessaries of life are to be procured for a mere trifle, or with very little effort.'" †

On the authority of Monsieur Schœlcher, a W. L. Garrison, of France, in a few sentences recording his impressions on the changes which have taken place in Hayti under the baleful influences of emancipation, or rather on the possession of that colony through the fearful revolution which forced the whites to fly from it to the neighboring islands and the United States, he says:

"There is something fearful, especially to the *abolitionist*, in the first step one makes upon the soil of Hayti. When you approach by the Cape, the colony once so powerful, the question arises, 'Where is the city of which colonial history has spoken so much, and which was called the Paris of the Antilles?' You fancy that you are entering a place suffering from a long siege. The pavements are broken, removed, and destroyed; the spacious streets are deserted; there exists the silence and inanimation which follow great public disasters; and only the clothing stretched upon the ground to dry in the sun announces that the inhabitants are not fled as at the approach of a plague. Hardly will the traveller meet with a person of whom he can inquire his way. The princely mansions, three stories high, and built of stone in a style surpassing that found in any other island in the Archipelago, unprotected from the weather, are falling to decay, and are no longer occupied, except by vigorous trees, whose green branches pierce through the dismantled windows, whence are falling the magnificently-worked iron balconies which adorned them. No one here is sufficiently rich even to preserve these vast ruins; and it is only by penetrating the interior that you may perceive, leaning against the old wall, a hut where a miserable family dwells, and plants bananas in spots which served as vestibules to the lordly planters.

* McKenzie, vol. 1, p. 101.
† McKenzie, vol. 1, p. 37.

"To-day Hayti contributes to commerce a little coffee, a little cotton, a little tobacco, and a few other trifles; and yet this island is perhaps the point of the globe to which Providence has been more bountiful than any other. It abounds in riches of every description. Its soil, of an inexhaustible fertility, besides sugar-cane, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and cocoa, produces the spices of India, all the fruits of America, and almost all those of Europe; its forests contain timber for building, for veneering, and for dyeing; and its mahogany, which is superior to that of any other country, is so abundant that the inhabitants use it for firewood. Many of its rivers roll golden sands along their beds; it contains mines of copper, of iron, of coal, and also, it is said, of quicksilver; it has mountains of sulphur, and quarries of marble, of porphyry, and of alabaster; it possesses jasper, agates, fossils, crystals, and argillaceous soils; its mineral kingdom is not less immensely wealthy than its vegetable; birds of brilliant plumage and sweet song are not wanting, nor are game and the honey-bee. In short, this luxuriant isle is a promised land, a paradise on earth."

As a consequence, the result of all this is, that immorality and utter degradation prevails throughout the island.

Marriage is almost the exception, and Mr. Candler remarks that "many of the Haytien and others appear utterly dead to all moral considerations, and leave their children to grow up as they please, the victims of wayward passion and of conduct without restraint."*

It would be a task of labor, as well beyond what the limits this article designs, to follow this ill-fated isle from the days of the revolution until the present time; but as an evidence of the fruits of "self-government," the statistics herewith are furnished to convince, if possible, the northern abolitionist and the northern intermeddler, how dangerous it is to agitate "abolition," and what direful results would follow if the negroes in the South were (if it were possible to be accomplished) emancipated.

It appears that to the revolution, (1790,) there were fully 2,289,480 acres in cultivation, comprised in 792 sugar, 2,860 coffee, 705 cotton, 3,097 indigo, and 69 cocoa plantations, on which nearly 500,000 negroes were employed; the whites numbering a little over 30,000; while, from the best information obtainable, the value of agricultural property, including

* Candler, p. 55.

negroes, cattle, and other requisites necessary for plantation purposes, it is found that it exceeded over $200,000,000, and that the exports in 1791 amounted to $27,828,000.

Prosperity abounded on all sides, from the sea-coast to the mountains in the interior, while commerce kept pace with the growing wealth of the island.

By data before us it appears that there were freighted for Europe alone, in 1787, no less than 470 ships, containing 112,253 tons, and navigated by 11,200 seamen.

The wretched and degraded condition to which Hayti has relapsed in all its conditions under the rule of "free blacks," both morally and socially, as well politically and commercially, is one well worth the serious reflection of our northern brethren, who, imbued with a spirit little less than fanatical, would see the South in the same degraded condition rather than abate one *iota* of *their principles* or put forth their voice and vote to discountenance the "*irrepressible conflict*" so often spoken of, but never to be executed so long as the South maintains her position, which RIGHT will uphold her in.

The philanthropist and abolitionist are conjured to turn to the leading article in the last number of this Review, and compare the condition of the "emancipated" in Jamaica, there depicted upon the best testimony, with the further evidence we have given of them in this, with that of the "children of rebellion in Hayti." Let the pictures excite in their minds the inquiry whether either are competent to self-government, or to appreciate the blessings which the "*Anti-Slavery Society*" in England designed for one, or "*The Les Amis des Noirs*" in France for the other.

The madness of Garrison; recklessness of Greely; horror of Burritt; tropes of Wendell Phillips; figures of Gerrit Smith; dullness of Ward Beecher; howling passion of the New York Quarterly Review; narrow-mindedness of some of the eastern clergymen; "*irrepressible conflict*" of Lincoln and Seward, nay, in fact, all combined, and amalgamated together with the raid of John Brown, will not suffice to divert the South and the conservatives of this Union from the position they hold, but who will, under the wise and beneficent dispensations of an all-wise Providence, be directed in their exertions to maintain the pledges and compromises of the Constitution, while the blood shed for its perpetuation will only be the "*holocaust*" to hand down to posterity the rights which our forefathers dared to contend for and maintain.

The followers of the "Lincoln-Seward" doctrines, and theories of the "irrepressible conflict," must, unless, indeed, they per-

mit their fanaticism to overcome the better judgment, plainly perceive that the South does not, after long years of patient suffering, design to delude herself into the stupid and ridiculous idea that the decision of the Supreme Court will ever be respected by the North, and that the South, if she continues in the Union, will, at an early day, demand guarantees that *all* the compromises of the Constitution, laws of Congress, and rights of the South, must be maintained, obeyed, and conceded. If a Republican President is elected next November, positioned as the party he will represent now is, holding as it does a majority in Congress, desiring a change in the Supreme Court, and looking forward to the day when the Senate will be at their control, what sane man will be bold enough to assert, if the "*irrepressible conflict doctrine*" is carried out in detail, that this Union can stand indissoluble. The prevention of a catastrophe which will sever the link is in the hands of the people of the North, and who can, by their "*conservative vote,*" crush out a *demon* who has nought in view but to reduce the South to the degraded position St. Domingo and Jamaica now holds.

The late Henry Clay, in a letter to Mr. Colton, dated as far back as September 2, 1813, draws the following picture to the *white man* on the dangers of abolition. He says:

"But the great aim and object of your tract should be to arouse the LABORING CLASSES in the free States against abolition. Depict the consequences to them of immediate abolition. The slaves being free would be dispersed throughout the Union; they would enter into competition with the free laborer—with the American, the Irish, the German; reduce his wages; be confounded with him; and affect his moral and social standing. And as the ultras go for both abolition and amalgamation, show that their object is to unite in marriage the laboring black woman, and to reduce the laboring man to the despised and degraded condition of the black man."

J. C. Calhoun, in a letter, August 12, 1844, held the following truthful language, and which is worthy of careful digest by those who at this day would drag down the South. He wrote:

"What would be the consequence if this object of her unceasing solicitude and exertions should be effected by the abolition of negro slavery throughout this continent, some idea may be formed from the immense diminution of productions, as has been shown, which has followed abolition in her West India possessions. But, as great as that has been, it is nothing compared to what would be the effect if she should succeed in abolishing slavery in the United States, Cuba, Brazil, and throughout this continent. The experiment in her own colonies was made under the most favorable circumstances. It was brought about gradually and peaceably, by the steady and firm operation of the parent country, armed with complete power to prevent or crush at once all insurrectionary movements on the part of the negroes, and able and disposed to maintain to the full the political and social ascendency of the former masters over their former slaves. It is not at all wonder-

ful that the change of the relations of master and slave took place, under such circumstances, without violence and bloodshed, and that order and peace should have been since preserved. Very different would have been the result of abolition, should it be effected by her influence and exertions in the possessions of other countries on this continent, and especially in the United States, Cuba, and Brazil, the great cultivators of the principal tropical products of America. To form a correct conception of what would be the result with them, we must look not to Jamaica, but to St. Domingo, for example. The change would be followed by unforgiving hate between the two races, and end in a bloody and deadly struggle between them for the superiority. One or the other would have to be subjugated, extirpated, or expelled; and desolation would overspread their territories, as in St. Domingo, from which it would take centuries to recover. The end would be, that the superiority in cultivating the great tropical staples would be transferred from them to the British tropical possessions.

"They are of vast extent, and those beyond the Cape of Good Hope possessed of an unlimited amount of labor, standing ready, by the aid of British capital, to supply the deficit which would be occasioned by destroying the tropical productions of the United States, Cuba, Brazil, and other countries cultivated by slave labor on this continent, so soon as the increased price, in consequence, would yield a profit. It is the successful competition of that labor which keeps the prices of the great tropical staples so low as to prevent their cultivation with profit in the possessions of Great Britain, by what she is pleased to call free labor. If she can destroy its competition, she would have a monopoly in those productions. She has all the means of furnishing an unlimited supply—vast and fertile possessions in both Indies, boundless command of capital and labor, and ample power to suppress disturbances, and preserve order throughout her wide domains."

Our northern brethren should remember that *sectional fanaticism* is at all times a growing evil, and, like a cancer in the human body, spreads until the life of the whole frame and its vitality is destroyed. They should, without delay, come back to reason, discard their false prophets, pause and reflect, and thereby save this Union from scenes of carnage and horror at which their every feeling would (if brought about) recoil with horror.

Many in the North may say that emancipation will work no injury to the planter; but they can easily perceive that it will consummate the long-cherished hope of a phalanx of designing agitators. What do the "emancipationists" propose to do with the freed blacks? Certainly they cannot leave them in the South, where their overwhelming numbers would be a curse not so much to the white man as themselves. Assuredly they would not remove them to reside with white men in the North, or inaugurate in their midst that *pernicious amalgamation*, which at present seems to be making such rapid strides wherever the doctrine of "*abolition*" is preached and practiced. Neither, with all the mad views preached by some men, can you of the North afford, should you ever liberate these southern slaves with money, to take them to your midst and accord to them the same political rights which are inherent to the white man. If you do these things, the *ultimatum* will inevitably be a war

of races, ending in extermination of one or the other, or the degradation of the white man, at the very thought of which *your blood should chill.*

Reflect seriously before you aid in giving the "death thrust," or cherish to your bosoms the gross imposture which has been and is being practiced on you, ever remembering that philanthrophy is designed to benefit humanity, and not to be used for its injury.

Take home to your individual hearts and minds that this nation has had blessings showered on it by the Great JEHOVAH such as no other can boast of, and that HIS curse, may follow on their footsteps, making us a mark and scorn among the nations now in existence, and a byword with those which the future may bring to life. You are appealed to in order to discountenance further "*anti-slavery*," "*abolition*," "*or emancipation schemes*," and to investigate as to whether these "*hobbies*" are not the fabrics of idle dreams, as well of designing men who aim solely at power.

GOD, the great dispenser of all events, will, in His own wise time, work out a problem which at present is among the great mysteries HE has designed for wise and beneficial purposes; and, therefore, it behooves all to, with one heart and one accord, release themselves from the thrall with which they have for years been enchained and bound. Fall back on the Constitution, sealed with the blood of your forefathers, and unite with the apophthegm of the immortal Webster: "OUR COUNTRY RIGHT; OUR COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG."

SOUTHERN WEALTH AND NORTHERN PROFITS.

IT is the misfortune of nations as of individuals that their errors often spring from their natural advantages, and hence genius frequently throws away, in a moment of weakness, the valued profits of the labor of years. Too proud to be instructed or correct our views, we rather prefer to sustain a fallacy by sophistical arguments than to begin as little children and go back to the sources of truth. After seventy years of unremitted toil, we have founded an empire which fixes the eye of the world, and takes a foremost rank in the family of nations. It would seem that we might now be contented with our work, sit down in peace, and allow our manifest destiny to produce its fruits. But no; we must needs paint the rose, and

smooth down apparent inequalities, which are the real strength of our foundation, and which, when removed, leave us suspended in mid-air, a prey to the first adverse blast. In addition to this internal discord, we have in the British nation a watchful and insidious foe, who can never forgive our having developed an element of strength with which she herself presented us, and which she threw away for a speculative abstraction. The representatives of these two ideas have come in contact in an assembly where, of all others, harmony might have been expected, and, affrighted at the fearful shock of their first encounter, have drawn off to enjoy a month of repose before striking the decisive blow. In the absence of any more powerful legitimate umpire, this journal, the acknowledged organ of the party, steps forward to exhort both sides to yield a little to the common good, and abandon, if necessary, personal predilections for national advantages.

We have enough to do to be able to beat the Black Republican hordes, which, like an avalanche, threaten to descend and destroy this glorious Union—that precious inheritance—forever. The Democracy ought to stop all quarrelling in their own ranks. It is suicidal; for even the simplest mind knows, by the experience of the last five years, that our enemies are not to be underrated, and that we *must* be united if we want to carry the victory next November. Our southern friends ought never to forget that the battle will be fought on northern ground—that their northern brethren will have to meet the enemy—for there are no Republicans in the southern States. Therefore, the northern Democracy, being the avauntguard, they ought to be encouraged, strengthened, and supported by the South. The Republicans have ill-treated the South since their first appearance. Fanaticism has blinded their eyes, and ignorance of existing circumstances and facts have induced not a few of them to operate against their own interests and welfare. They are the avowed enemies of the South, and no man doubts that, if they should get in the ascendant, they will carry out their nefarious schemes and ruin this country.

It is with pleasure that we see at this juncture one who was once the editor of a review, of which this might be called the continuation, coming forward to meet boldly the issue by the publication of a work entitled "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits;" a work so thorough and exhaustive, that, if space allowed, we would reproduce it entire.

In his preface, Mr. Kettell remarks:

"The first chapter is devoted to the discussion of the follow-

ing subjects: Labor the source of wealth—Accumulation is capital—Beginning of slavery—Capital mostly of slave origin—Disposition of whites to work—Cotton the great civilizer of the world, the noblest boon of God to man, with slavery its necessary adjunct."

The course of the United States, says our author, is clearly put by Charles O'Conor in his address at the Union meeting, New York, December 19, 1859.

The early settlers of America were composed of two classes: those who fled from religious persecution, and those whom broken fortunes induced to secrete themselves from the society of their equals, in order to acquire new means. Massachusetts was settled by the former; Virginia by the latter. Thus, from the first, an antagonistic feeling existed, which time has not allayed, and which has reached its highest development at a recent day. The Puritans were of the middle class of life, accustomed to work, and associating on a footing of equality with those they employed to help, rather than serve them. The planters of Virginia had been country squires at home, and had always had around their mansions a number of devoted servants, who, in return for faithful service, expected an old age of indolence and repose, at the expense of their employers. To the northerner, expecting his children to work, and setting them the example, the presence of the slave was a humiliation, and his support an uncompensative tax. To the southerner, fond of social life, cultivating a country where nature yields a liberal return, and whose sparse population occupied extensive tracts of land, the services of the negro were invaluable; his respectful devotion flattering and luxurious. Hence at the North the institution took no root; at the South it struck deep into the soil. The farmers of New England all possess the elements of education; few are versed in general truths, or toned down by the study of the classics. The women and the clergy think for them, and women and clergymen are creatures of impulse, not of reason. The condition of the slave is one peculiarly capable of being pictured in glowing colors, and exaggeration marks the tone of New England literature and eloquence. The clergy of the Presbyterian church have always claimed a right to instruct their flocks in matters relating to government, and the temptation to draw from biblical quotations, authorities and pictures, to back their theories, has ever been too strong for them to resist. This church, therefore, giving strong meat to those whose minds, after the labors of the week, require it, has always recruited largely from the

middle classes; whilst the Catholic religion, speaking to the eye, has drawn to its fold those of lesser rank; and the Episcopal form of worship, gentlemanly, easy, and unobtrusive, is fitted peculiarly for the wealthy and refined. Goaded on by what they heard on the day of rest, and what they read and thought upon during the winter evenings, the home-keeping farmers of New England, and of the northern part of New York, have always advocated emancipation, and selected national representatives who pandered to this taste. Instance Senators Hale and Seward; instance Sumner, who was compelled to lay aside his classic periods, and abuse the representatives of the South in language unworthy of a ward politician.

In 1787 the subject of providing a government for the Territories was first disposed of. "A committee reported, through Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, its chairman, 'an ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio,'" the southern States having not yet ceded the larger area held by them. This bill embraced many of the provisions contained in that of Mr. Jefferson. It concludes with six unalterable articles of perpetual compact, of which the following is one:

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall be duly convicted."

To this was added a stipulation for the rendition of fugitives from labor or service. Thus amended, the bill passed and became a law, qualifying the relation of the States and Territories at the time of the adoption of the federal Constitution.

Constitutional Convention.

"The utter inability of Congress to protect the interests of the country and to promote its general welfare became daily more apparent. To provide for the emergency a convention was called to revise the Articles of Confederation. The delegates met in Philadelphia in May, and entered upon the discharge of their duties on the 25th of the same month. General Washington was chosen president. The Articles of Confederation being considered by the majority radically defective, they were laid aside, and it was resolved to form a National Government, consisting of supreme, judicial, legislative, and executive departments."

State-rights, commerce, African slavery, were the grand subjects of discord then as now. The subjects of equalization

of representation and continuance of the slave trade were first discussed.

Mr. Martin, of Maryland, said: "As five slaves, in the apportionment of representatives, were reckoned as equal to three freemen, such a permission amounted to an encouragement of the slave trade. Slaves weakened the Union, which the other parts were bound to protect; the privilege of importing them was, therefore, unreasonable."

Mr. Rutledge did not see how this section would encourage the importation of slaves. He was not apprehensive of insurrection, and would readily exempt the other States from every obligation to protect the South.

Mr. Ellsworth said: "Let every State import what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of slavery is a consideration belonging to the States. What enriches a part enriches the whole, and the States are the best judges of their particular interests."

Madison thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in men, and one clause was altered to avoid such an implication. Thus an amiable weakness on a question of taste left open a subject which might have been set at rest forever. Had any of the parties then supposed that the agitators of the question would send forward a forlorn hope to incite to rebellion—had they supposed that senators, whilst apparently studying the beauties of the Nile and contemplating the wonders of the Old World, were cognizant of a plot so nefarious—the rights of the South would have demanded and obtained a formal declaration setting it at rest forever.

Setting aside the question of a dissolution of the Union, we have yet to fear the establishment of a system of non-intercourse; and with actual separation such a system, rigidly enforced for a few years, would make the South so independent of the North, so powerful in those elements of strength—shipping and manufactures—that her resources would soon exceed those of her sister States; her connexion with Europe becoming most intimate, whilst the North, with no staple to export, no customers for whom to import, would each year recede in importance.

New York now imports to the amount of				$218,231,093.
Boston	"	"	"	41,174,670.
Philadelphia	"	"	"	14,517,542.
Charleston	"	"	"	1,438,535.
Baltimore	"	"	"	9,713,921.
New Orleans	"	"	"	18,349,516.

It depends on the political factions of this country whether this amount of wealth be annihilated or these figures reversed. Nothing is so changing as the course of trade. All history informs us that spots now desolate were once the resting place for navies. New Orleans has natural advantages equal if not superior to New York. Nearer by far to California, equidistant from the Havana, she could soon deprive her of the trade of the world, and leave her a mere depot for the cereal products of her own State. Boston thrives by the manufacturing industry of New England employed in working up southern cotton, in making clothes and shoes for the slaves, carriages, ploughs, harness, and furniture for the planters. Whole villages live by a trade the decrease of which has produced the riots of recent date. Should the South be driven to commerce and manufactures, slave labor would man her vessels and work her mills, as well as cultivate her rice and cotton. England would not hesitate to pass statutes for the exemption of the crews from local laws. France would be equally philosophic; and Spain would be unrestrained in flooding the South with a direct negro importation. The desolated North would pine in vain, whilst the rich West would send her abundant harvests down the Mississippi. The city of New York contains within herself the strongest proof of the changing nature of the habitations of trade. The youngest inhabitant can remember when Pearl street was the only street where dry-goods merchants could exist, and a store in that locality was a fortune in itself. Now Pearl street is as desolate as the cities of the plain; and marble palaces adorn a street which was recently the lowest sink of pollution.

Had the negro been intended by the Creator for an elevation to an equality with the white man, his nature would not have been so formed that he can only reach and maintain his highest development in a state of servitude. On the African coast he is a mere animal, eating the dirt of the earth; without language, dress, or culture. When free he relapses into unbounded licentiousness, and dies the victim of his own excesses. While in a state of well regulated servitude, he becomes a great element of civilization, the happy cultivator of four great staples, of commerce, cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, a field of culture peculiarly his own and with which white labor cannot compete. Races which have been kept down by the force of circumstances rise when the pressure is removed; but the negro, under the most advantageous auspices, has never been known to produce any evidence of greatness, or give any proof of a

power of self-government. No black races of antiquity claim our admiration, and the history of the free blacks of St. Domingo is a catalogue of horrors. In the Dred Scott case it was declared: "In the opinion of the court the legislation and histories of the times, and the language used in the Declaration of Independence, show that neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves nor their descendants, whether they have become free or not, were then acknowledged as a part of the people nor intended to be included in the general words used of that memorable instrument. They had for more than a century been regarded as being of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit."

The value of the cotton, sugar, molasses, rice, and tobacco, exported from this country in 1859, was $165,288,985. Should the abolitionists destroy this vast annual export, with which we pay for our imports and enrich our seaboard cities; should the 3,000,000 of slaves, who now add $50 per head to the annual wealth of the nation, be thrown on us for support, and their present value, which, taken at $550 per head, is $1,650,000,000, be annihilated, the world would never have witnessed such a destruction of wealth or such misery as would invade the American continent. The once waste lands of Georgia, now teeming with rice, would relapse into a wilderness whose quietude would no longer be disturbed by even the presence of the Indian or the beasts of prey. Where now grows sea-island cotton, would the lonely seagulls clap their wings by day and night; and Louisiana, land of poetry, harmonious home of Spaniards, French, and Americans, united by one paternal institution, tended by one devoted race, become again a swamp where the plash of the alligator would replace the paddle of the steamboat which now bears to crowded markets her sugar and cotton. But what would become of those happy negroes who now cluster around the planter's home? Would they form a black State in our confederacy under the star of Arizona, or be thrust like the red man into the waters of the Pacific? Ignorant abolitionists of the North, if your theories were carried out—if you proposed, even in your kindness of heart, to take your black brethren to your homes and make them the sharers of your bed and board, they would despise your offer. They would pine for the warm temperature of the South, for their accustomed labors, their usual

amusements. Your cold religion would not satisfy their fervent souls; your homely fare would nauseate their dainty palates; your rugged industry disgust their lazy habits; and if you were not willing to receive them into your homes, and make them the husbands of your blooming daughters, how could you contend that they have equal rights under the Constitution, or that they are therein recognized as citizens of our republic? If they are citizens, they are entitled to settle in our midst; and the statute of Rhode Island and other northern States, declaring void the marriage of a white and a negro, and imposing on the person solemnizing such marriage a penalty of $200, is unjust and should be repealed. If they are property, what right have you to interfere with or control their disposition? We hold that they are a peculiar burden imposed by the wisdom of Providence and the necessities of nature upon the people of the South—a burden which they have strength to bear, and under which they prosper and advance. Proving that slavery is Divinely ordained to generate kindly feelings between master and servant, and bring under the yoke of civilization lands otherwise irreclaimable. As they naturally increase, new fields must be opened for their labors, and the Territories, free to the South as to the North, form the natural outlet. Such was the meaning of the Constitution. Such is the doctrine of the Democratic party.

We trust never to see the white man degraded to replacing the negro in his servile toil. We trust never to see the South so desolated as to be deprived of her working population, nor the Union yielding to that insidious policy which England has pursued from the days of the revolution, nor the *E pluribus unum* struck from our coat of arms. We have advanced too far; we have taken too bold an attitude with the powers of Europe, to live at all except as a Union. If our phalanx is broken, France and England will unite in blotting out forever the only perpetual protest to oligarchy and despotism which the world presents.

The South has as yet opposed no open hostility to those who would rob her of her rights. She has done nothing to prevent her renewed participation in the great national council, and for her representatives to absent themselves is not only injustice to their constituents, but also to the nation at large.

THE POLITICS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

THE CONDITIONS OF OUR NATIONAL EXISTENCE.

When the founders of our republican system enunciated those unexceptionable doctrines that were incorporated in the instrument that gave expression to our political faith, and form and symmetry to our national life, they asserted as fundamental, unalterable truths, principles which the philosophy and culture of preceding ages had taught the human race to reject as inconsistent with the institutions of government as then existing. When they promulgated the idea that there was in the individual all the attributes of true manhood, and that the intellect, judiciously instructed, and properly disciplined, should provide all the laws and prescribe the conditions upon which the race should be governed; or, in other language, when they advanced the beautiful theory that in man was vested all the elements of sovereignty, and that he should consequently exercise the largest amount of natural liberty in deciding his own political and intellectual position, they unveiled the sophistries which had enveloped the degenerate civilization of the past, and substituted in its stead the consummate faith which recognized as its cardinal feature the individuality of man. Those doctrines were not the fanciful generation of the uneducated and impracticable reformers of the age—men who dealt in metaphysical abstractions and glittering artificialities, and who, possessed of vague conceptions and indefinite theories of their own, were anxious to experiment upon the American people; but they were individuals whose philosophic penetration and practical foresight enabled them to entertain great ideas, grasp mighty truths, and to administer to the necessities of a promising people; individuals whose instruction in the science of government was of a profound, rather than of an idealistic character—in short, they were the authoritative expounders of the undecaying, the elemental life of Democracy.

It is a historical fact that men of extensive culture and acknowledged erudition had applied their intellectual powers in portraying imaginative political commonwealths, constructed upon more liberal principles than those then existing, and they laid down some lessons, which would, perhaps, if judiciously followed, contribute to the inauguration of a higher and a better civilization—a civilization more in accordance with the character of a race whose inevitable destiny was indissolubly linked with progress. But mankind were not prepared to

make such a grand overturning in their affairs, by accepting the teachings of such a new and entirely dissimilar political philosophy from that which they had hitherto cherished ; and it was reserved for the American people to present to the civilized world a governmental structure, established upon the matchless principles of true human liberty—liberty subordinate to law, and regulated by judicious statutes—liberty guarded by constitutional restrictions and prudent limitations, the fruits of which are exemplified in the harmonious operations, the innumerable advantages conferred by, and the immeasurable glory inseparable from, the American Union.

With the growth of the national confederacy, political parties, representing dissimilar and antagonistic principles, have sprung into existence, and have endeavored to obtain ascendancy in the management of the affairs of the federal government, and so to control and shape the legislative policy of the nation as to make it conform to their own peculiar views of duty, of patriotism, and of justice. These organizations exerted all the influence possible for them to employ in moulding the sentiments of the people and in securing a corresponding unity of action in the respective departments of government; and when the issues which called them into being were superceded by others having a direct bearing upon, and immediately concerning, national interests, they have either ceased to exist as vital elements in the field of American politics, or else they have come to adopt these new issues.

In 1854, after the memorable compromise, which was entered into between the different sections of the country, when Missouri was admitted into fellowship with the other States of the Union, was abrogated, and this unconstitutional restriction of the sovereignty of a State obliterated from all except historical remembrance, a political party was created, whose followers conceived it to be their especial mission to resist the aggressive designs of the South. Appealing to popular prejudices and public sympathies and to sectional jealousies, it labored industriously to demonstrate to the northern intellect that slavery, the aggregate of all human evils in the eyes of their diseased imaginations, was making rapid progress towards the unoccupied territory of the United States, and that the legislative arm should be interposed to thwart its designs. Taking as the basis of its creed those "glittering generalities" which the representatives of the radical sentiments of the self-styled modern civilization have vehemently proclaimed as the only object for which governments should be instituted, professing

to cherish an unalterable love for human rights, a love superior to that entertained by most men, and claiming an undeviating attachment to liberty, the ambitious politicians and intriguing aspirants who laid down its policy and controlled its action hoped it would become more powerful, because possessing in a greater degree the elements of political vitality and popular stability, while its garments were unstained by that subserviency to the imperious demands of the slave power, which had hitherto paralyzed the energies, and prostrated, as they contended, the manly form of its predecessor, the Whig party, which party, a distinguished statesman of Massachusetts had declared, ceased to have an existence as a national organization, and over whose remains a leading Whig editor, who, if he has been true to nothing else, deserves the merit of being faithful to his theoretical abstractions and impracticable generalities, pronounced the eulogy, if such it might be denominated, over its body, which, Brutus like, he had conspired against and assisted to stab. This political party, which appropriated, at its inception, the name of Republican, proceeding upon the assumption that the rejection of the line of 1820, which created an invidious distinction between two dissimilar domestic polities, and recognized a hostility between the different sections of the country, besides impairing incontrovertibly the rights of a community free to pass upon their own institutions, was a measure especially designed to propagate slavery—it was a prize laid at the feet of the "slave oligarchy" which they would readily accept, rather than, as the inauguration of a principle, by which in future this perplexing question could be adjusted without becoming so prolific a matter of legislative strife and national contention. Upon this point its originators endeavored industriously to mislead the northern mind, and to misdirect its political sentiments. They portrayed, with all their characteristic eloquence and peculiar rhetoric, the base and indefensible subserviency of the North to the inexorable exactions and unscrupulous dictations of the slaveholding element, which they declared had obtained the ascendancy in each and every department of the federal government; they dwelt in unremitting language upon the efforts which were in progress to subjugate the free States, not only by a calculating legislative policy, but by physical means; and in the exuberance of their patriotism, and professed devotion to freedom, they painted for the diseased intellects of some of the citizens of those States, the North, confessedly superior in political power, chained like Hector to the victorious car of Achilles,

to the triumphant chariot of the South, and all accomplished through the direct agency and immediate instrumentality of the Democratic parcy.

And now, we ask, upon what pretext was the Republican party established? Upon the sole assumption that the repudiation of the Missouri compromise was concocted and consummated for the express purpose of extending the institutions of the South, and not with the patriotic design of establishing a polity by which, in all coming time, should be settled this question of the rights of the sections in the Territories, in accordance with the principles of popular sovereignty, as enunciated in the act providing for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska. In vain did those who voted for and sustained the measure as a wise and patriotic one protest against this unwarrantable and unjust interpretation of their acts. In vain did they tell the people of the free States that, while the bill recognized the rights of the South in the Territories, thus asserting the equality of the States of the Union, one of the great fundamental, irreversible laws upon which the majestic structure of the republic rests, that slavery would never, under any conceivable circumstances, obtain the ascendancy in said Territories—that an irrepealable law, beyond human control, as Mr. Webster declared in his patriotic speech of the 7th of March, had determined, unalterably and forever, the condition of the Territories of the United States, and that no human statutes could successfully resist the inexorable decrees of nature. And subsequent events have demonstrated the fallacies of the Republican party in their reasonings upon the logical results of the principles embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska act, and verified the truth contained in the uniform avowal of the Democratic party concerning the ultimate condition of the Territories. Notwithstanding the vituperative accusations of the Republican party against the slaveholding element; notwithstanding it instructed the conscience of the North that it was a religious as well as a political duty to sustain the only sectional party that the country has ever produced, because it was the party of freedom; notwithstanding its eloquent appeals to the popular sympathies in behalf of human liberty in Kansas, and its melancholy pictures of the evils, many of which were imaginary, under which the Territory labored; notwithstanding the persistent endeavors of the leaders of the Republican party to fasten the charge of the complicity of the Democratic organization with the troubles, and to hold it responsible for the difficulties, in the aforesaid Territory;

its earnest and determined efforts to convince the people of the North that the Democratic party justified the unlawful acts of the ultraists of the South in the same, because its own policy was to sustain the fanatics of the North, who emigrated there to secure a field possessing the requisite aliment for agitators; its unhesitating enlistment in the unmanly service of attaching to the above political association the odium arising from the ardent struggles of political adventurers for office and emolument, thus converting the Territory into a field of domestic strife through the instrumentality of such treasonable characters as John Brown, whom many of the Republicans consider a perfect representative of the heroic in life, assisted by the radical men of the South; and notwithstanding the determined and energetic labors of the orators and presses in the service of the party to demonstrate that the intestine difficulties under which the Territory of Kansas suffered was the natural and legitimate effect of the doctrines incorporated in the organic law of the same, rather than an exception to the general operation of its principles; notwithstanding all this, we say, the condition of the Territories is the same as it was the day when the territorial government was organized, just as firmly and as irrevocably attached to freedom as it would have been if the Missouri compromise had not been superceded by the popular sovereignty doctrines of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and when these political communities come to swell the glory and to augment the power of the Union it will be as free States.

In the severe presidential contest of 1856 this self-styled Republican party assembled in convention at Philadelphia, and with a full representation of the northern section of the confederacy they laid down their platform of principles and entered upon the canvass with determination and energy. In accordance with the doctrines previously avowed by various State conventions, they made the question of slavery, and the iniquities proceeding from the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and the management of Kansas affairs by the Democratic party, the basis of their political creed. The subjoined extract is a definition of their territorial polity:

"That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery."

As we have previously remarked, the Republican party was established, as its founders declared, to prevent that portion of

our territory from becoming slave States which was covered by the Missouri restriction; and in its appeals to the anti-slavery sentiments of the North it told the people that it was the mission of the party to prevent the South from deriving any benefit arising from the abrogation of that compromise. It labored strenuously to secure the election of a man possessing but few of the elements of statesmanship, because he had promised, if elected, to apply all the power of the federal government in securing a restoration to Congress of the power of which, by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, it had been deprived. In this it failed, and the wisdom and justice of the principles of popular sovereignty were affirmed in the success of the Democratic party. After the election of Mr. Buchanan, the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Dred Scott, pronounced the Missouri line unconstitutional, and it declared that its enactment by Congress was an assumption of power and authority which did not legitimately belong to it, thus reaffirming the doctrines of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. But the Republican party tells us that that decision was extrajudicial, for the reason that no question involving the constitutional power of Congress was before the court. Admitting this for argument, although we deny its historical truthfulness, that political organization is well aware what would be the judgment of the Supreme Court whenever the case is brought before it. What remedy, then, do the Republicans propose, now that the said judicial tribunal has stripped them of their territorial platform, the vital issue of the presidential struggle of 1856? With their accustomed intellectual penetration, they have discovered that the South, in comparison with the North, has a majority of the judges of said court, and they have devised an expedient, almost as ingenious as that by which the Greeks subjugated Troy, which they hope will cause the stronghold of slavery, as they declare, to yield to the skilful machinations and cunning devices of Republicanism. They hope to remedy the difficulty by securing a reorganization of the Supreme Court, in order to impart to it equality, to give to the North a fairer representation in that judicial body. When we remember, however, that several judges from that section of our country concurred in the opinion of the Chief Justice in the Dred Scott case, we very naturally inquire how this trouble is to be obviated? And to this replies the Republicans, we can, when we secure political supremacy in national affairs, appoint men whose convictions of national duty, and whose views upon questions of public policy, correspond

entirely with our own. And thus they propose to inaugurate a crusade against the highest judicial tribunal in our country, and hope to make it the organ of a miserable sectionalism, and the representative of an odious, intolerant, and inexcusable partisanship. This all accomplished, where then lies the independence of our judiciary? Its ermine, hitherto unspotted by the touch of the paltry and comparatively insignificant political issues of the hour, is trailing in the mire of partisan politics, and subservient to the dictations of an organization of men who, under the misapplied cognomen of Republicans, are, in reality, the representatives of that unscrupulous fanaticism which proclaims undying opposition and an unceasing war against the southern section of the American confederacy. Under the pretence of reorganizing the Supreme Court, in order to make it more emphatically the exponent of the true American sentiment, which, rendered intelligible, means nothing more nor less than to make it a willing instrument to propagate Republican faith, they seek to overthrow a judicial body distinguished throughout all American history for its superior legal attainments and its inability to be affected by the temporary triumph of political parties, and all because it has laid down, as a matter of law, the right of the South equal with the North in the Territories of the United States; because it refused to recognize the political equality of the colored with the white race of the country, and because it virtually declared that the territorial polity of the Republican party is repugnant to, and contradistinguished from, the spirit and provisions of the federal Constitution.

We have thus demonstrated, as we conceive, that the platform upon which the Republican party contended for supremacy in national affairs in 1856—to wit, the right and duty of Congress to inhibit slavery in the Territories—is no longer a practical issue. We have shown that whenever this question, admitting the logic of the Republican party to be correct as regards the extrajudicial opinions rendered in the Dred Scott case, is brought before the Supreme Court, this power, which it is claimed is vested in Congress, will be annulled, and the question remanded back to the people of the Territories to be adjusted permanently by them. We have shown that the South have derived no benefits from the repeal of the Missouri compromise; that Kansas and Nebraska, for whose welfare the Republicans professed to cherish such a sincere regard, are to-day virtually free, and that this question is settled—placed beyond the control of any political organi-

zation, and beyond the power of any section to render it a subject of national controversy. Further than this, there is no Territory within the sovereignty of the government of the United States whose destiny is not determined, and that by an inexorable law, beyond the control of the American people, by positive legislative enactments; and there is no territory to be acquired by the general government whose condition requires the interposition of congressional power to regulate its destiny. What, then, is the position of the party? What remains for it to accomplish? The objects for which it was originally established cease to be practical issues. It either, then, must disband, or seek for new questions of controversy. It has chosen the latter as its policy, and with this we have to deal.

The true doctrines of the sectional party were very clearly defined by Mr. Lincoln in his contest with Judge Douglas, in 1858, for senatorial honors. This promulgation of political faith by the leader of the organization in Illinois received, we believe, the universal indorsement of the press in the service of the same. No protestations against the incorporation of such dogmas into the Republican platform were uttered, so that we may reasonably infer, and we shall certainly not be accused of misrepresentation when we assert, that they received the sanction of the Republican party. On the contrary, its followers eulogized Mr. Lincoln for his masterly efforts in defence of their principles, and conceived him to be a sort of Ajax Telemon, especially designed to effect the annihilation of Judge Douglas and his popular sovereignty doctrines. We assert, then, that he was recognized as the authoritative representative of the Republican creed. The following is Mr. Lincoln's exposition of its teachings:

"In my opinion, it (the slavery agitation) will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Following in the footsteps of Mr. Lincoln, the leader of the Republican forces in the State of New York, William H.

Seward, in a speech delivered at Rochester a few months after that of his Illinois ally, enunciated more clearly and distinctly the true and legitimate purposes for which the party was created. Speaking of political questions now agitating the public mind, he says:

"It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free labor nation. Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina, and the sugar plantations of Louisiana, will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchandise alone, or else the rye fields and wheat fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture, and to the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men."

Mr. Seward, but a few months prior to the advancement of these views, had proclaimed from his seat in the United States Senate that the battle, as he was pleased to denominate it, between slavery and freedom, had been fought; that the struggle for ascendancy between the two was ended; and that the preponderance of the free States in the Union settled, unalterably and forever, that the North should direct the future action of the national government. When this announcement was made by such a thorough and undeviating Republican as Mr. Seward—a man a large proportion of whose public life had been identified with the movements of the anti-slavery agitators—the conservative men of the country were exultant over this return of reason and moderation to a quarter where it could least be expected. They rejoiced that the hostilities existing, and the alienation of feeling between the sections, engendered by an embittered struggle for political supremacy, waged as it were between them, were all to be remembered no more only as matters of history; and they congratulated each other upon the prospect of the substitution of other political questions than that of slavery as national issues; and they welcomed, as we do the first flower of spring, this "restoration to the country of that quiet and that harmony which make the blessings of this Union so rich and so dear to us all."

But this proclamation of peace was but a thing of the hour—a promise made to be broken at the first convenient opportunity. It was a skilful device, by which the national men of the country were to be entrapped, and their destruction effected.

Through what immediate agency this remarkable change in the sentiments of the distinguished expounder of the Republican creed, in a few short months, was wrought, we are unable to say. But we know full well that Mr. Seward returned to the charge upon the "slave oligarchy" with renewed vigor, and with an increased determination to subjugate the South, and to make it comply with the arrogant assumptions and humiliating exactions of northern fanaticism. We know full well that the manifesto of peace which he sent forth from his senatorial post proved but a delusion and a cheat; and the promise of harmony, flowing from the acknowledged supremacy of the North, with which he flattered the hopes of the conservative element in the country, was but the commencement of a systematic and deliberate attack upon the South and her institutions. In the heart of the great State of New York, in utter disregard of all his fair representations that the end of the struggle was at hand, and in defiance of the conservative sentiments of a large number of its citizens, he flung his dark banner to the breeze, emblazoned with the significant doctrines of an "irrepressible conflict," an "unceasing antagonism," and a "perpetual collision" between the North and South. This banner was inscribed with the names of the candidates representing the Republican party. It was received with unqualified praise by the members of the same, and it afforded the American people an introspection of the true principles of the organization.

We are well aware that certain of Mr. Seward's friends endeavor to explain away the language which we have quoted from his Rochester speech by saying that he did not mean to make any war upon slavery as it exists in the States; and that the ridiculous declaration, which none but an aspiring politician would make, that "the rye fields and wheat fields of Massachusetts and New York" may, by any possible contingency, "be again surrendered by their farmers to slave culture and to the production of slaves," was only a rhetorical flourish, intended merely for oratorical effect. This is certainly a very easy method of explaining away a sentence, which, to say the least, was very pointed. But it will not answer the purpose. Those who have watched Mr. Seward's political career, who have noted the doctrines to which he has given his adherence, know full well that he is too cautious and calculating a man to indulge in such language without he attaches some meaning to it. He possesses too thorough a knowledge of the skill and dexterity requisite for political

success to indulge in any such vague and unmeaning remarks. If he did not intend to deal with slavery where it was established under and protected by State sovereignty, why did he assail the institution of slavery as an institution? Why did he endeavor to point out the antagonism between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States? which antagonism he maintained must culminate in the complete and entire ascendancy of either one or the other. He asserts the incompatibility of the two systems—the irreconcilability of slavery with freedom—which is a direct repudiation of the views of the framers of the federal Constitution. They found the institution of slavery existing in a number of the States, as they now are, of the Union, and, instead of rejecting them at the period of the formation of the national government on this account, they admitted them into fellowship with the free States upon terms of perfect equality, thus demonstrating conclusively that they believed, contrary to Senator Seward's theory, that the free and slave States could exist side by side, cherishing toward each other kind feelings, and maintaining none but friendly relations. And, further than this, they placed all control over slavery in the hands of the respective States, to be abolished or established at their pleasure. And why has he declared some years before the issue of this Rochester manifesto, when addressing himself to the citizens of the South, "it (slavery) can be and must be abolished, and you and I must do it."

We say, then, that the territorial question being no longer a living issue—that Kansas no longer harassed and disturbed by John Brown and his confederates, and men of such agitating propensities—the Republican party has been disrobed, and the true character and legitimate designs of the party, long concealed under the fascinating and popular plea of securing freedom in Kansas, revealed. It has come to assume its true position—the position which any political organization must ultimately come to occupy who make the question of slavery the only plank in their platform—to wit: a contest with the institution of slavery as it exists in the States, under the well-selected title of an "irrepressible conflict." It has buried deep in the past the only semblance of conservatism which it ever possessed, and now it assumes an open, direct, and unequivocal antagonism, to what? Not, certainly, to slavery in the Territories, because that is an obsolete question, but to the "slaveholding aristocracy, the privileged class of the South." Deny it who will, the position of the Republican party is no longer one concerning slavery as it affects the Ter-

ritories, but it is slavery as it exists in the States. And now we desire to know, because the acceptance of the doctrines of the uniformity of the institutions of the American Union as advanced by Mr. Lincoln, and the "irrepressible-conflict" views as promulgated by Senator Seward, universally by the Republican organization renders it their faith too, what interpretation we can give these declarations. We conceive that the individual who examines them carefully with an intellect unbiased by partisan prejudices must admit that they mean that this systematic war upon slavery must continue; that the agitation, which was created unnecessarily and for the advancement of the interests of the Republican party immediately after the repeal of the Missouri compromise, must rage with increased fury until freedom is triumphant and slavery is humiliated before the agitating elements of the North. They mean that so long as slavery exists within the confines of the American confederacy there can be no peace—no cessation of that interminable strife which has already divided the sentiments of the American people, disturbed the tranquillity of the public mind, and weakened in a degree those bonds that connect the "thick-clustering stars of the Union in one glorious constellation."

We say that such is the natural and inevitable result of the pseudo doctrines of these two Republican leaders, indorsed and sustained by the organization itself; and, furthermore, that it is the ultimate position which any political party in this country must come to occupy that makes the question of slavery the basis of its creed. Agitation of this over-agitated subject can accomplish nothing; it will eventuate in no good. The people of the North and South entertain their own peculiar views; they have their own convictions, deliberately formed, of the advantages and disadvantages of the institution, and it matters not whether they are correct or no. Their views are too well established to be altered by such contemptible effusions as "Helper's Compendium of the Impending Crisis of the South," or their judgments changed by Dr. Cheever's inflammatory denunciations of the southern aristocracy.

It is a common plea urged by the Republican party in its behalf, and a prominent reason assigned why it should receive the support of the American people, that it cherished no other sentiments than a patriotic attachment to the Union, and an undying affection for the Constitution. But it certainly requires no extraordinary intellectual penetration to discern the inconsistency of those professions. If it be loyal to the Union,

what means this uncompromising, eternal conflict, which must, it teaches, be waged between the opposing elements that constitute the domestic systems of the country—a conflict which is destructive of that unity of sentiment and action which makes us one people, not only as regards geographical position, but in feeling and in purpose? Is it the part of friends of the Union to endeavor to secure the ascendancy of principles calculated to increase this alienation of sentiment which now exists to an alarming degree between the North and South, and thus finally to force upon one-half of the confederacy the choice of withdrawing from the same, because the national government has been converted into a powerful instrument by which their annihilation is to be accomplished, or of remaining in it upon terms of utter inequality? And what means the gentle rebukes and qualified denunciations, if denunciations they could be called, which the Republican party showered upon John Brown and his confederates? What means the unsparing eulogies of him by those who are looked upon as brilliant luminaries in the anti-slavery horizon, which eulogies, portraying Brown as a martyr, a hero, and a saint, were received without any disapprobation by them whatever? And why have they endeavored, by ridicule and misrepresentation, to cast odium upon the patriotic gatherings of the men of the North to express their utter detestation of John Brown and his attack upon the sovereign rights of a great State, and to reiterate their unyielding devotion to the Union? And if they entertain such an ardent love for the Constitution, why do they, by every possible means, endeavor to interpose every conceivable obstacle to thwart the operations of a law which, however repugnant to the general sentiments of the North, has received the support of the most able jurists and constitutional expounders of the country? When these questions are answered satisfactorily, we may then withdraw our charge of the opposition of the Republican party to the Union and to the Constitution. Until they do this, however, that sin will cling as closely to them as the shirt of Nessus, and by no devices or subterfuges can they remove it.

And now we come to state the conditions of our national existence:

First. The North shall refrain from all attacks upon the institutions of the South, as recognized by the constitutions of the respective States, and that the latter shall have adequate protection guaranteed her by the North against her invasion by such fanatical enthusiasts as John Brown.

Second. The right of the different sections of the Union to emigrate with their property to the Territories of the United States, and to decide, without any extraneous interference, what domestic institutions they shall have, must be conceded by both sections.

Third. Obedience to and respect for the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the prompt enforcement of that act embodied in the compromise measures of 1850, which was especially designed to give efficiency to the plain provision of the federal Constitution regarding fugitive slaves.

Fourth. It shall be the duty of the North and South to refrain from violent denunciations of either section, and to labor equally to secure the return to the country of that concord, that affection, and that consanguinity, which alone can make us an inseparable race, looking to the glorious promises of national renown which, just now dimmed, must again exhibit themselves clothed with the august realities that crowd around a great republican commonwealth like our own.

It is time that our article was brought to a close. We have already extended it beyond the limits contemplated at its commencement. We have reviewed dispassionately and impartially the doctrines of the Republican party, and we have endeavored to show that its elevation to the control of the American confederacy must be disastrous to its welfare. If, however, the conservative elements give utterance to their sentiments through the ballot-box in the ensuing presidential contest, we have no fears of the triumph of this sectional party. Those national men who, it matters not under what banner they fought, in 1856 resisted the powerful tide of northern fanaticism and madness, have, like Anteus, been refreshed by their slumbers, and will again, and perhaps forever, stay its progress. They stand at the feet of the majestic structure of Union and declare that they are inflexibly opposed to a consolidated North or South, and through their powerful instrumentality "every arrow from that full quiver" of anti-slavery wrath, whether winged from the press, the pulpit, or the forum, fall blunted on the impenetrable shield of a nation's love and reverence.

GOD SAVE OUR NOBLE UNION!

A Song for the Times.

It came to us through darkness,
  It came to us through blood;
It shone out like the "Promise
  Of God" upon the flood.
A beacon, it has served us
  With true, unerring flame,
And cast a blaze of glory
  Upon our nation's name—
    God save our noble Union!

'Twas left us by our fathers—
  Those souls of priceless worth—
The noblest types of manhood
  That ever walked the earth.
'Twas bought with fearful struggles,
  By sacrifice sublime,
And stands a proud memento
  For all the coming time—
    God save our noble Union!

Our land a waste of nature,
  Where beast and savage strayed,
Its wealth of lakes and rivers
  Unlocked by keys of trade:
Then sun-like rose the Union—
  A terror to our foes—
And lo! this "waste of nature"
  Now "blossoms as a rose!"
    God save our noble Union!

Where earth lay hid for ages
  In deep, primeval gloom,
Behold a boundless garden—
  A continent in bloom!
With iron bands of railroads,
  Electric tongues of wire,
And energies within us
  Which time shall never tire—
    God save our noble Union!

But now upon our heaven
  Are signs of coming storms,
And fierce, unholy passions
  Unfold their hideous forms.

The bravest hearts among us
Are filled with doubt and fear,
While sounds of horrid discord
Are grating on the ear—
God save our noble Union!

The hallowed flag that bore us
So proudly through the wars—
Is there a hand would sever
Its *sisterhood of stars?*
Great God! can we so blindly
Cast all thy gifts away?
Or throbs there in this nation
One heart that will not pray—
God save our noble Union!

JAPAN.

It is related that a widower, afflicted by the loss of his spouse, was visited by a friend anxious to console him. To all arguments in mitigation of his sorrow he was deaf, and the guest was leaving in despair, when he happened to remark, "I have brought you the first shad of the season." At once grief gave place to gluttony, and the mourner eagerly asked, "Has it a roe?" Nations, like individuals, can, in the midst of their afflictions, make room for curiosity; and we, on the eve of a great political crisis, forget the negro and his supposed wrongs to look out of the window as the representatives of the Majesty of Japan pass to the White House.

In addition to its native attractions, this mission is a great gratification to our pride, as evidence of the success of a new style of diplomatic intercourse which we were the first to inaugurate.

Starting with the principle that all the world is one great family, and that no member of that family has a right to sequester himself from the rest, we advanced towards the self-secluding nation with the sword in one hand and the olive branch in the other, and one bright morning the watchers on her outward walls beheld the stars and stripes waving from one of those ocean steamers with which we conquer space.

As the vessels neared the shore, says the narrator, the country appeared mountainous, at least three-quarters being occupied by steep hills, which were left uncultivated, whilst the in-

termediate space was made to produce two crops annually—one of winter, one of summer grain. These bottoms or valleys are naturally level plains, or are made so artificially. They are very rich, and their fertility is aided by irrigation, facilities for which are afforded by streams from every valley. The more accessible parts of the sides of hills as they recede from the plains are also graded, often levelled, and, when water cannot be procured, are planted with such grain or vegetables as require no more moisture than that supplied by rains alone. But whenever irrigation can be secured, then rice is also planted.

On looking over the western shore of the bay of Yedo, in the months of February and March, from the deck of a ship, one will notice a range of high hills or bluffs rising directly from the water's edge, and scarcely interrupted by even small and narrow valleys. Beyond these is a rolling upland, more or less broken, bounded by a range of not very elevated mountains; and still beyond these, covered with a glistening canopy of snow, rises in solitary grandeur the cone of Mount Fusi to the altitude of some 12,000 feet. This is a most conspicuous and beautiful object from almost every point for sixty or eighty miles around. At this early season, the margin of the bay is clothed with verdure, and the camelia japonica, here twenty or thirty feet in height, and the apricot and plum are robed in blossoms.

The face of the hills, except some gentle slopes, is mostly planted in pine. The plantations, however, are not equal to some at the Cape of Good Hope, nor such as we may imagine in the highlands of Scotland. They are arranged in slips of various widths, running up and down the hills, as if in possession of different proprietors. The trees are seen in all stages of age and growth; are not preserved in any good order, but are obviously set out in rows, and appear to be cut systematically for timber or fuel. And here it may be observed that a very large portion of the labor of the country must be employed in these plantations in cutting and preparing the lumber and fuel, and in transporting them to supply the wants of the numerous cities and towns or villages throughout the land. The necessity for timber is very great, as the vast majority of houses are constructed of wood. The people profess to be able to build them of stone if they wished, but prefer wood as being more secure during the earthquakes to which their country is so much subject, and this profession is no doubt true from the specimens of beautiful workmanship that we saw in stone. We observed very extensive quarries close by Simoda that must have been

recently worked, and perhaps are still open. The stone appears to be used for foundations, piers, &c. When not occupied by woods, the slopes are mostly set in a tall, coarse, strong, grass, (*arundo*,) which was being cut during the winter and carefully made into bundles. No animal could think of eating this; it is, however, of great value, being used in thatching. A very considerable business is carried on in furnishing the cities with this article. Many houses are covered with tile, (and beautiful tile they have, too,) but by far the larger portion are thatched. It would be difficult to find a better material, and the thatching is very neatly executed.

On the remaining slopes many patches of bright yellow flowers may be seen. These are the blossoms of a kind of turnip or cole, with either none or a very diminutive bulb at the root. Small lots of it are also sometimes cultivated in the richer bottoms. It is grown for the sake of its oil, expressed from the seeds, and this oil is used in lamps. The Japanese have candles, but of inferior quality and in insufficient quantities; and as, from their customs, they require many lights, this plant is of great importance to them, inasmuch that when requested to furnish the tops as a vegetable for the squadron in a hygienic point of view, they declined upon the plea of its great necessity to themselves.

Upon the uplands, extending back from the brow of the bluffs, I unfortunately had no means of making observations. But by those who went there I was told that the same patches of turnip or cole were noticed, and also fields of wheat. By the way, let it be remarked here, that fields in Japan are very different things from what they are in America. They may extend from half or a whole acre up to several hundreds; these latter, however, being made up of any number of the former in juxtaposition. Each laborer or family seems to have a small allotment or holding, divided from that adjoining by only a furrow, or even an imaginary line drawn from one limit-mark to another. These allotments are all very small, being from a half up to one or two acres, apparently.

While the climate was thus mild near the water, and the vegetation thus forward, the range of mountains beyond the uplands was covered with snow, which, from time to time, came down quite low towards the bay, but would speedily melt away.

I had an oportunity of landing at only one of the villages or bottoms on this bay, and that was adjoining the treaty-house Yokahama, about ten miles below the city of Yedo.

The soil was a beautiful black mould with some clay and gravel intermixed. It was in a high state of tillage, and had upon it principally cereal crops, with some cole or turnips and other vegetables. The young wheat here was more thrifty and luxuriant than I saw anywhere else, or perhaps than I ever saw before. Like the other crops it was drilled. The distance between the rows was about twelve inches. It had been recently worked with hoes or rakes, though I saw no rakes in the country, and probably also recently manured with liquid manure or guile. The earth was light and well pulverized and drawn towards the plants into small ridges. As already stated, the plants were in the most flourishing and vigorous growth. This lot of wheat (and the cole) was the only one I saw thus cultivated in Japan. The liquid manure is very conveniently situated for distribution, being held in vats or pits, dug at suitable intervals on the sides of paths or roads. These are sections of a tolerably wide and deep ditch, and are covered by light thatched roofs, which exclude too much heat and restrain excessive evaporation.

Upon our arrival at Simoda, in April, (where most of my observations were made,) the wheat and barley were advancing towards maturity, and upon our return thither from Hakodadi, in June, were being gathered or harvested. These crops are drilled either upon level surfaces or upon narrow beds from four to six feet wide to suit the soil as to moisture. When sown upon beds, the drills appeared to be invariably across them instead of lengthwise. Besides the bottom lands being completely occupied by these crops, there were numerous patches or terraces upon the sides of the hills, whose summits, too, were occasionally occupied by them. In the latter places the soil is red clay, but poor, and the crops thin, not producing more than from six to ten bushels per acre. In the plains even the yield is not very large, being, on an average, not beyond fifteen bushels. As to the produce of barley, I was not so well able to judge. The wheat is of two kinds, the awned and the awnless, but both red. The barley is also of at least two varieties, one with a very short but thick head, (club-headed,) and with short awns, the other with a long rather slender head with long awns, but both sorts are six round. I noticed oats but not as a crop. They had sprung up here and there accidentally.

Harvest time seemed not a period of any unusual excitement or jubilee, each occupier having so small a portion as to be able to manage it readily by himself. There is no scythe or

cradle, unless the blade with a handle about one foot long may be regarded as a minature scythe. It is not unlike a brier-hook, and with it the grain is reaped close to the ground, without a straw being missed. This is done by men, and the straw is tied into bundles. These are carried to the homestead or to some convenient place in the field arranged for threshing out the grain. I saw this operation only once and cannot answer for its being general. Upon the side of a hill an excavation had been made in the solid but easily worked rock of about 7 feet by 10 and 5 or 6 feet in depth. This room opened upon the face of the hill by a door at one angle, and was covered by thatched roofing. At the inner end there was a heavy beam of wood resting upon supports, with a brief space between it and the wall. A young woman was beating the sheaves of wheat upon or over this beam, and the grain was thus separated from the straw; another woman brought the grain in and passed the straw out. Here the laborers were protected from the sun and the grain from the rain. As primitive as this may appear, the winnowing process is equally so. Many persons, chiefly females, were observed from the ship winnowing grain upon the beach by pouring it from baskets held above the head and allowing the sea breeze to blow the chaff away towards the land. Small fanning mills were also seen, but these will be mentioned more particularly presently. Other modes of separating grain from the straw are believed to exist, but I did not see the machinery of one of them in motion.

Barley is hummelled by beaters and mortars worked either by hand or by water, and also by mills. The hand machine is similar to the hominy beater of our native Indians, the pestle, however, being at right angles to the handle, instead of being in a direct line with it. The water contrivance is a trip hammer, like one used in our country for pounding corn, &c., for feed for animals. In a shed near a small stream a beam of wood is suspended upon pivots near its middle, with a pestle arranged at one end for working in a mortar, and the other end is scooped into the form of a spoon. The water being turned upon this end it descends so far as to allow the water to escape, whereupon the pestle falls heavily into the mortar and the see-saw motion keeps up a continuous pounding. In the United States a bucket is used with a tipping bottom, instead of the spoon-like cavity. The mills are in small houses, which are divided into convenient compartments. The machinery is simple, and is worked by a large undershot or breast wheel. The axle of this extends into the house and upon it

are a series of levers, which, as it revolves, elevate a number of pestles by catching under projections upon them ; as these fall they beat the grain, operating as in our old oil mills. From time to time, as the beating proceeds, a pestle is thrown out of gear and the grain is taken from the mortars, to be passed through a small fan or winnowing machine.

Thinking to astonish the natives we sent out specimens of our latest mechanical improvements, and amongst others the cotton gin, but it was found that most of these already existed in Japan, and many of an improved construction.

Although so little is known of Japan, many writers have employed their pens upon it. Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick, first published a work called l'Arcano del Mare, in which he gives maps of Japan, which cannot be relied on, and an account of the island of Jesso, which is still less accurate. In 1598, William Adams, the pilot of a fleet of five vessels, which sailed to the East Indies by the Straits of Magellan, was shipwrecked on the coast of Bungo, and remained at Japan, where he secured the good graces of Cuto Sama, and on his return published two letters about the establishment of an English factory at Ferando. The Jesuits, too, who for nearly fifty years held the exclusive control of Japan, each year wrote to their general detailed accounts of that mission. In 1598 these were published by Munoel de Lyra, at Evora.

The famous embassy sent to Pope Gregory XIII by three princes of Japan has been the theme of many writers, and gave rise to a work by Edward de Sande, of which Kæmpfer, in his translation, thus speaks: "In this rare work, printed in Latin and Japanese, at Macao, the whole state of Europe and of the East Indies at that time is clearly set forth. The Jesuits, proud of a mission which they had brought about, wished to take advantage of the occasion to instruct the Japanese, through their own ambassadors, with regard to the reception they had met with and the wonders they had seen" Were this book reproduced at the present day it would be of absorbing interest.

The natives gave to Japan the name of Nippon, which means "foundation of the sun." Japan consists of several islands, of which the most remarkable are Nippon, Sikokf, and Kiusiu.

The isles of Rinku are at the southwest, and, if we are to believe the Japanese, they are so fertile as to produce two rice crops a year.

The inhabitants, after the labors of the day, pass their time in drinking beer made from rice.

In 1542, 2,202 years after the foundation of the Japanese monarchy, chance made Japan known to the Europeans, two similar accidents forcing two ships, one a Chinese and the other a Portuguese, to land on these islands, in the same year and almost at the same time, without either knowing of the arrival of the other, so that each considered that they had the honor of the discovery.

Fernando Mendez Pinto says, in his memoirs, that being, with two other Portuguese, Diego Zermoto and Christopher Borrillo, at Lampacao, a port of China, seeking the means of returning home, a Chinese pirate, Sanitpœhica, offered them a passage, and promised to land them on the Lequois islands, which were then well known to the Portuguese, but stress of weather forced them to land on the island of Japan, called Tamiximan. The lord of the island received them kindly, but seeing that the Portuguese belonged to another race, he turned pale, and exclaimed, "May I die if these are not the Chinchicogos, of whom it is written in our holy books, that, flying over the seas, they shall become masters of every land, and especially of those most renowned for wealth."

The next day he sent them a splendid breakfast, and having sent for the Portuguese, asked them if it were true that Portugal was larger and richer than China; that its king had really conquered the greater part of the world, and had 2,000 houses full of silver and gold. Pinto replied that it was all true, except that the empire of his majesty was so vast that the number of palaces could not be got at. The prince of Japan then said: "No prince can be happy who is not connected with so great a monarch." He then caused quarters to be fitted up for the distinguished strangers in his own palace. Unfortunately the king had a son, who wished to amuse himself by loading and discharging the gun which Pinto had brought with him. In performing this feat the instrument exploded, striking him to the ground. The prince being supposed to be dead, Pinto was seized, tried, and condemned, when the injured man, coming to life, proved to be only wounded in the throat. Pinto having restored him, was looked upon as his preserver, and sent to Liampo in a vessel presented by the king.

Three other Portuguese, Antonio Mota, Francis Zamoto, and Antonio Pixota, having, about the same time, set out for Dodra, in the kingdom of Cion, in the island of Macaçar, to go to China, were by stress of weather cast on the coast of

Japan, and landed at Canjoxima, in the kingdom of Saxuma, in 1542, the same year in which Don Martin Alphose de Josa, governor general of the Indies, landed at Goa, bringing with him Francis Xavier, who was destined to bring that vast country within the pale of the church. These merchants, mixing with the natives, became acquainted with the Angeroo, who, at the age of thirty-five, rich and noble, was so troubled by conscience that he could find no repose. One of the Portuguese advised him to go and see Father Xavier, "a man," said he, "beloved of Heaven, and who can no doubt set your mind at rest." Whilst he was yet doubting, he had the misfortune to kill a man, and fled to Malacca. The vessel in which he sailed was under the command of a person named Alvarez, who was an intimate friend of Xavier, and he brought the would-be convert to the holy father. Xavier was filled with joy at the sight of a convert from so distant a region, and sent him to Goa to be instructed, where he made rapid progress. Paul de Sainte Foi, as he was now called, having been baptized, became anxious to spread the new religion at home, and he and Father Xavier, after many wonderful escapes, arrived at Japan. The family of St. Foi, seeing him whom they supposed dead come again to life, were charmed, and embraced the new faith; whilst the king, anxious to cultivate friendly relations with Portugal, gave every facility to Father Xavier. To tell how Christianity spread in Japan, how it lost ground, and was finally expelled, would, in this connexion, exceed the limits of an ordinary review. We propose to reserve it, therefore, for another number.

In 1727 was published at London, by J. G. Schenchger, F. R. S., a translation of Kæmpfer's History of Japan. In the chapter on the city of Nagasaki the author says:

"Amongst the imperial demesnes or crown lands are comprehended the Gokosio—that is, the five chief maritime or trading towns. They are, Miako, the residence of the ecclesiastical hereditary emperor, in the province of Jamasigra; Jedo, the residence of the secular monarch, in the province Musasi; Ohosake, in the province Setsu; Sakai, in Jassume; and Nagasaoki, in Tisin. The four first are situated upon the great island Nippon, and all eminent for their wealth and riches, as needs they must be, considering the fruitfulness of the country about them, their manufactures and inland commodities, and many more considerable advantages, such as, for instance, the residence of the two imperial courts, the great number of strangers, and amongst them many noblemen and princes and lords, who resort thither in their way to and from courts with

great retinues. Nagasaki, on the contrary, the subject of the present consideration, is situated at the western extremity of Kinsju, upon an indifferent and barren soil, between steep rocks and high mountains, remote from the populous and wealthy Nippon, and almost shut up even against commerce with foreign nations. The many disadvantages which this city labors under makes it but thinly inhabited by merchants, innkeepers, mercers, manufacturers, or other rich people. The greater part of its inhabitants being made up of workmen, laborers, and ordinary people, who must get their livelihood by their daily labor. However, the commodious and secure situation of its port makes it the common harbor for such ships and people as are permitted to trade to Japan. This particular favor is granted only to the Chinese, or such eastern nations as trade under their name, and to the Dutch—to both under narrow inspection. After that cruel persecution of the Christian religion, which ended with the loss of many thousand natives of Japan and the total extirpation of it about the year of Christ 1638, amongst many new laws which were then made it was enacted by imperial authority that for the future the harbor of Nagasaki should be the only one open to foreigners, and that if any ship should be forced, through stress of weather or otherwise, to put in for shelter anywhere else, none of the crew should be suffered to set foot ashore, but that, immediately upon the danger blowing over, she should proceed on her voyage to Nagasaki, under a convoy of Japanese guardships, if needful, and show cause to the governor of that place why she put in elsewhere. The reason why foreigners are sent to Nagasaki is, that its inhabitants, being the most debauched of the empire, cannot be injured by contact—the number of houses of prostitution being here greater than in any other city. The women of this part of the empire are the most beautiful in Japan; and the poorer classes are allowed to dispose of their daughters at ages varying from 10 to 20 to the keepers, who have on hand from seven to thirty, and instruct them in music, dancing, and other branches of education. Being thus better educated and more attractive than the other women, they are often sought in marriage, the blame of their past lives being laid to their parents and not to themselves.

"The dogs also deserve to be mentioned among the inhabitants, they being as well or better cared for than the rest. Huts are built in every street to keep them when grown old and infirm. Every imperial city is commanded by two governors, who command in turn—one staying at Jedo till the

other relieves him. Nagasaki has three since 1638—two who remain there, commanding in turn for two months at a time, and at the end of two years the senior is relieved by the third. The one who is relieved stays at Jedo six months, during which time he is at liberty to live with his family, but as soon as he has received orders to depart he must leave his family as hostages for his fidelity. All the time he is at his government no woman is admitted into his residence, under pain of death by his own hand and the ruin of his family. No crime is punished in Japan by fine, for in this case, say they, it would be in the power of the rich to commit what crimes they pleased. Street officers have to suffer for the crimes of householders. But there is never so much caution used as upon the departure of a foreign vessel, in order to prevent the inhabitants from following or smuggling goods—a crime punished with death. When the ship sets sail, till out of sight, search is made in all the streets to see that none of the inhabitants are missing. Everybody has to be present to answer to his name, and the street messenger reads the names of the servants out of the register book. Sometimes he compares the number of heads with the number of names to save time."

We regret that the necessities of space force us to suspend the study of this interesting people; but we trust that the opportunity of communication presented by the advent of the present mission will induce our people to see the necessity of maintaining a glorious union, which may now find in that vast empire a larger market than ever, both for the raw material of her great staple and also for its manufactured products, and that the representatives of Japan will not have to state on their return that the great people who sent for them have ceased to exist.

SOCIAL RESTRICTIONS.

"He who wisely would restrain the reasonable soul of man within due bounds, must first himself know perfectly, how far the territory and dominion extends of just and honest liberty. The ignorance and mistake of this high point hath heaped up one huge half of all the misery that hath been since Adam"

MILTON.

"From all which I justly formed this conclusion to myself, that whatever philosopher or projector can find out an art to solder and patch up the flaws and imperfections of nature, will deserve much better of mankind, and teach us a more useful science than that, so much in present esteem, of widening and exposing them."

DEAN SWIFT.

This is emphatically an age of skepticism in regard to the stability of American institutions. Predictions of their final failure have long been made in Europe, and now they are beginning to be widely uttered in our own country. Confidence is beginning to be lost in the fitness of our system to effect its intended ends. The conclusion is fast coming to adoption that if man is capable at all of self-government, it can at least never be happily accomplished under a Constitution like ours.

While such sentiments as these are so common, and such opinions are so boldly expressed, it behooves all lovers of their country to examine well into the real condition of things, and to give themselves to serious reflection; so that, if there be indeed cause of apprehension, they may use timely efforts to avert the evil.

The chief doubts in the minds of men here, as it seems, arise from the fact of the steady growth, of late, in some parts of the community, of false ideas of the true ends of government; ideas that are inconsistent with common sense and common feeling, and which are leading to reforms that have no foundation in reason, and are at variance with every lesson of experience. Starting out with the very just impression that the grand object of our institutions should be to secure to the people the greatest possible amount of freedom, mistaken philanthropists have been easily led astray by inadequate conceptions of freedom's real character. Believing that men have certain inherent rights, they lose sight of the fact that it is not always consistent with their own good, or the good of others, that these rights be enjoyed. Liberty and restraint to them are contradictory terms; and every law that at all interferes with this preconceived notion of individual right, they deem unjust and tyrannical. To borrow the words of a writer: "Their fancy has got astride their reason, imagination is at cuffs with the

senses, and understanding has been kicked out of doors;" and with a rashness which is only exhibited by men who ignore the teachings of common sense, they are ready to put in practice all sorts of "hare-brained schemes of public reformation." They are dissatisfied with the Constitution of the country, because they consider it unequal to the demands of humanity; and, instead of endeavoring to retrench the evils of life by the application of sound philosophy, they only increase them by giving themselves up to superstitious sentimentality.

If, then, the inquiry be made whether, between the institutions of our land and man's just claims there really exists any such ill agreement; and if it shall appear that the relation is one of harmony instead of discord, we may be induced to abandon the fears that are now so thoughtlessly entertained. Moreover, as an unclashing government can have no other aim than "God's and truth's," we may indulge an undying confidence in the glorious destiny that awaits us.

We are taught by Nature and by God that we should love our neighbors as ourselves. Mankind feel that they are under such an obligation. Even without any express command from Heaven, they would have been convinced of the existence of this duty. It arises naturally, from the very constitution of our being, and from the circumstances by which we are surrounded. It is a part of our nature, and we can be happy and accomplish the real objects of our life only in proportion as we act out this internal, God-given conviction.

All laws, then, should be so framed as not to do violence to this feeling. They should not be partial in their benefits, except so far as in the nature of the circumstances is unavoidable. Their beneficent influences should extend over all. They should oppose no man's just rights, and should, as far as possible, throw no obstacle in the way of any single individual's happiness.

All men have a right to the secure enjoyment of life, liberty, personal safety, and property. There is no exception to this rule. It is universal in its application. *All* men have the right to enjoy these blessings, and not only to enjoy them, but to enjoy them *securely*. This is a truth so self-evident, a principle so just, so accordant with reason, and so agreeable to all the feelings of humanity, that it must ever receive universal assent; but however entire may be the approval which is accorded to the principle, it is an undoubted fact that the doctrine is often disregarded in practice. And, not unfrequently, those who are most clamorous in their expressions of devotion to liberty are the very men who pay it the least respect.

Why this is—why it is that such a difference is observable between the conduct of men and their professions is a question not easily and satisfactorily answered. And yet the causes are not so thoroughly enveloped in darkness but that we may get at least some faint knowledge of their character. It is very probably true that self-deception has more to do with it than dishonesty. It may be that, from a want in the beginning of fixed principles, men have given too much scope to their various passions and affections, and that these, without moderation, have become more active and influential; and that, as a consequence, the judgment has become unduly biased. Selfish considerations may have acquired such strength, from long indulgence, as to be almost irresistible; and there are instances, not a few, where men have fixed an eye so steadily upon their own interest as to neglect entirely the means of promoting it. Whilst they are under the control of such dispositions, it is useless to appeal to their reason for that is all engaged on what relates to themselves; and they can see nothing, with distinctness, that lies beyond the circle of their own individual concern. Nor is an appeal to their reflection of any avail, for their deliberations upon an action, both before and after the performance, are not to see if it is just, but to justify it; not to discover if it is right in itself, but find out grounds for its palliation. A war goes on in their own minds between reason and passion—passion is lord of the ascendant, and reason, as best she may, adapts herself to the circumstances. This, then, is unquestionably one of the sources of the incongruity alluded to. Reason is continually declaring her truths, but passion interprets them; and hence may it be seen how it is that men while boldly proclaiming their adherence to the doctrine of equality do actually neglect and spurn it, and thus, with suicidal hand, tear up the only foundation upon which their own institutions rest for success, and upon which all governments must depend for their perpetuity.

Civil society deprives us of none of our just rights. It does not, in the slightest degree, interfere with them. It rather secures them to us, and protects us in their enjoyment. Civil society does not allow us *unrestrained freedom*, because this would be inconsistent with its duty of guarding us in our *rights*. It *limits* our freedom, because freedom in excess is license, and license can never be promotive of the happiness of either the individual or his fellows.

There is nothing intrinsically in liberty either desirable or undesirable. It is often good, and it may be bad; but it derives its distinctive character wholly and entirely from circum-

stances independent of itself. A man subject to fits of derangement would, of course, desire that, on such occasions, his liberty be taken from him, else he might unconsciouly murder his best friend. Nay, it is the bounden duty of his acquaintances to deprive him of his liberty, and if they knowingly and willingly failed to do it when it was in their power, they are morally responsible for his conduct. No sensible man would contend that, in thus restraining a maniac, they had deprived him of any of his rights. On the contrary, every good man would believe they had taken the only course that could possibly secure him, or any other member of the community, in the *enjoyment* of rights. So it is with children. They have rights just as truly as adults, and they have precisely the same rights. But surely we should not be justifiable in giving a child's liberty full scope! He lacks knowledge and experience and discretion; he is without education; his reason is undeveloped; his conscience is unenlightened, and it is only by the aid of another's hand that his freedom is kept within those bounds where his welfare and that of the rest is promoted.

> "Had doting Priam check'd his son's desire,
> Troy had been bright with fame and not with fire."

As it is with individuals, so it is with society generally, and institutions which fail of this restrictive influence fail of the first grand characteristic of all good government. So far from this yoke being justly considered a burden, it is indeed an alleviation, for every individual, without impoverishing the rest, receives more than he gives, and thus, as it were by a miracle, the happiness of each in all and of all in each is greatly enhanced.

The reason that unjust law can never be promotive of either public or private prosperity and happiness is that its sole effect is not to confine each man to the liberty of enjoying his rights. It puts upon freedom an undue restraint; a restraint which is uncalled for, which is unjustifiable, and which is not suggested by the single desire to give to all men that which they can rightfully claim.

Not less unjust should we deem a law which accomplishes the same evil by making freedom too free. "Men have no right to what is not reasonable and to what is not their benefit, for though a pleasant writer said *liceat perire poetis*, when one of them, in cold blood, is said to have leaped into the flames of a volcanic revolution, such frolic should be considered rather as an unjustifiable poetic license than as one of the franchises of Parnassus; and whether he were a poet, or divine, or politician, that chose to exercise this kind of right, the more wise,

because more charitable, thoughts would urge one rather to save the man than to preserve his brazen slippers as the monuments of his folly."

It is not true, then, that the rights of the individual are one, and the rights of the State another. The rights of the individual play no second part to the rights of the community. They stand upon exactly the same footing and are in every respect equal. It is just as it is between two individuals. Each has his own rights, and there is no sort of superiority in the rights of the one over the rights of the other. They are both rights, and, as such, admit of no degree. So long, therefore, as each claims and obtains only what is his, he possesses all the qualifications of a worthy citizen. But when he comes to interfere with the rights of others, he transcends his own rights, and as it is the business of civil government to restrict a man to the enjoyment of that alone to which he is entitled, it plainly becomes its duty, in this case, to defend the injured party by a limitation of the liberty of the aggressor.

Let it be borne in mind, however, that the grounds of the action of the law do not consist wholly or principally in the fact that the immunities of an individual have been invaded. The prime motive is a regard for the welfare of the offender. If he does not put the liberty he possesses to the use for which it was intended, and for which it is alone desirable, why should he be allowed to retain it; especially as his unjust infringements will inevitably react upon himself, and induce a state of demoralization at utter war with all happiness?

> "From too much liberty, my Lucio, liberty!
> As surfeit is the father of much fast,
> So every scope, by the immoderate use,
> Turns to restraint. Our natures do pursue,
> Like rats that ravine down their proper bane,
> A thirsty evil, and when we drink we die!"

Moreover, license is contagious. It is easily propagated from one to another. Who is free makes free; and excessive exhibitions of freedom on the part of any are sure to call forth similar exhibitions on the part of the rest. In many cases, of course, this is owing to the force of example, but frequently the cause is much more powerful. Wherever our own rights are invaded, the instinct of self-preservation would force upon us the duty and necessity of retaliation; and as this would give new impulse to the attacks of the aggressor, there would be no end to the dreadful warfare. In this case the injured party is the avenger of his own wrong, and almost the only prompters of his conduct are the bad passions of his nature.

The feelings with which he fights possess no element of the love which it is his duty to bear to his brother. His motives are utterly selfish, and under such circumstances it would not be matter of surprise if he should exceed the call of the occasion, and should himself incur guilt just as great as that by which he was aroused. But in society we have an impartial judge. Laws are framed which, every man's reason must assure him, are for the good of all. Each citizen subscribes to them, professes his willingness to abide by them, and when he violates them he not only knows the penalty that awaits him, but in his inmost soul he feels the judgment to be just. Passion plays no part in their conduct. Their object is simply and entirely to secure to men those rights which they understand and value, and to deprive them of that excess of freedom which is unfailingly hurtful; to give them happiness as happiness can alone be possessed, and to curb—

> "The wish, which ages have not yet subdued,
> In man to have no master save his mood."

Now, by the working of such a system as this, men are not only made happier, but they are made better. They are made happier in consequence of its action, and by its very mode and process are they made better.

All the evils and miseries of the world spring from man's conduct, and this conduct is prompted by his principles. Vicious principles lead to misery inevitably; and misery in turn, by dimming our hopes, binds us more firmly to the very vices that were its own cause. It is only, therefore, by the infusion of virtuous principles and the formation of virtuous habits that the conditions of the human race can be essentially improved. The only basis of the accomplishment of this is the communication of knowledge, which is the necessary adjunct of all good understanding and real virtue. Faith, to be effective, must result from conviction; and a mere assent to truth that is ill-understood or not understood at all can have but little effect in drying up the springs of vice.

This desirable object, however, is not to be attained by any extemporaneous, precipitate action of our own. In such attemps we are sure to—

> "Out-run,
> By violent swiftness, that which we run at,
> And lose by over-running."

Knowledge is a plant of slow growth, and all patience and perseverance are needed in its culture.

If there is one sin of the times greater than others, it is undoubtedly an over-haste to accomplish reform. Men are

unwilling to await the silent working of deep-seated causes. They expect to bring about all that seems desirable by a magic touch of their own feeble wand, and instead of learning sense from their failures, they either abandon themselves to the most stupid despair, or else resort, with the same reckless restlessness, to new schemes. Let it be remembered that, though there *may* be obstacles in some parts of the community to the reception of knowledge, enlightment in other quarters will never fail to shed some of its effulgence on even the most benighted; and let men turn their attention to those abuses that are already prepared for removal, and cease wasting their energies to effect that which, in the very nature of the circumstances, is impracticable.

But in what has been said of the spread of knowledge we would not be understood as alluding to mere scholastic attainments, for these are a matter of comparatively very small moment. We refer to the knowledge of the great principles of human thought and human conduct, which can only be gained by lengthy discipline and a long contact with those who are already enlightened. Civilization and cultivation depend, perhaps, as much upon physical as upon moral causes. The history of man demonstrates that soil, climate, civil and religious institutions, agricultural and commercial relations, *all* contribute an influence upon his education, and furnish each its peculiar ingredients for the formation of his character. Natural character is not the result of a single age. Generation after generation may have been moulding it into its distinctive form, and this form may have become so confirmed by all the habits of body and mind that generation after generation must elapse before it can be essentially changed. In the present African race of our country there may be instances of extraordinary shrewdness, but they greatly mistake who suppose that nothing but a proper course of ordinary education is requisite to form the present generation of negro children into a generation of adults as high minded, and liberal, and independent in their views as the present citizens of these United States. The ignorance and degradation of the race are too deep-seated to be eradicated by any mere factitious method. Such a course were an attempt to cheat time of its dues, and to out-strip Almighty God in the great business of human development.

The aborigines of this country are not destitute of intellectual sagacity and a certain lofty pride of character; yet it is intellectual power which acts readily only in a characteristic way. It may possibly be diverted into a course of English

education and discipline, but the probabilities are tenfold that it would eventually burst from its trammels, and roam at last, half-savage and half-civilized, in its native forests.

> "God worketh slowly; and a thousand years
> He takes to lift His hand off. Layer on layer
> He made the earth, fashioned it and hardened it
> Into the great, bright, useful thing it is;
> Its seas, life-crowded, and soul-hallowed lands,
> He girded with the girdle of the sun,
> That sets its bosom glowing like Love's own
> Breathless embrace, close-clinging as for life;
> Veined it with gold, and dusted it with gems,
> Lined it with fire, and round its heart-fire bowed
> Rock-ribs unbreakable; until at last
> Earth took her shining station as a star
> In Heaven's dark hall, high up the crowd of worlds."

Government, it is true, should rest upon reason as its basis; but it should be remembered that our condition is not a condition of perfection. This is a point too frequently overlooked; as it was, most fatally, by the French philosophers of the last century. Their eyes were closed to the fact that humanity is fallen from its once high estate. Their systems supposed a state of things that did not exist, and could not have been expected to exist; and as they were suited only to a condition of perfect regularity of motive and action, it is not surprising that they failed of adaptation to such a "huddle of uncertainty" as man. Such theories of government, because they are inconsistent with facts, are mere dreams. They spring from an utter ignorance or disregard of men's vices and passions, and just to the extent of this neglect must their application of course be unsuccessful.

Moral truth has no existence independent of circumstances. It is not something which retains its individual character without change through whatever mutations of those things which are external to it. There is no one form of it which we are in duty bound to accept and maintain for its own sake, and without consideration of the probable mischievous results which may follow its adoption. Indeed, it may be doubted if *any* truth has an existence irrespective of circumstances. Take, as an illustration, the law which regulates falling bodies as it is demonstrated in the books. This is a law of truth. It is a law which will never fail to hold good just as long as the circumstances that were considered in its demonstration remain. Change these circumstances, however, and it ceases to be a true law. It had no existence independently of the circumstances, and, when these are altered, it no longer remains a law. Introduce, for instance, the consideration of the atmos-

phere, and it will be found that the fall of the body will be governed by another law entirely. So with the laws of human conduct. Place man in circumstances where there are no obstructions to the course of action suggested by reason, and reason then is the law of truth by which he should be governed. But throw about him the interfering accidents of fallen humanity, and reason is the law which should regulate his conduct no longer. What was truth before would even be error now; and the promptings of pure reason, which would have led him right before, would, now that things are altered, be the most dangerous guide he could have. His new circumstances require a new law—a law adapted to these circumstances—that shall provide for them, meet them, and manage them as may best promote his happiness. It should be in a sense still the law of reason, but it would be so modified as to possess almost a totally new appearance.

We should ever keep in view, then, the situation in which we are placed, with all its surroundings. Our conduct should be dictated and judged of by them, and we should never fail to apply the only true test of common sense and experience. These are the principles that gave birth to our Constitution. It is no product of pure reason, suited only to perfect beings; but, sprung from reason and understanding, it is the joiut child of Heaven and earth, and must ever remain a connecting link between man and his God. Uniting beauty and grace with solidity and strength, it is the proudest political monument of the world; and the day will never dawn on the human race when it shall cease to be an object of love and veneration. It will stand as a peerless model for generations yet unborn; and though storm after storm may break over its summit, it will still rise from the darkness and gloom all radiant with undying glory. What mighty crises as a nation we are doomed to pass, and what variety of talents may be forced into action—what moral and intellectual powers may be elicited by collisions and contests—are matters hidden in councils of the Most High. But there is no reason to fear that the stability of our system will be disturbed by any of these shocks. Moreover, the greatness of the work in which we are engaged will continually increase our knowledge and strength, and thickening dangers and difficulties will only contribute to make us longer-sighted and stronger-nerved in the cause we have espoused. Of exemplifications of these facts, the history of even our own country is full; and never, where there was a pressure of great political necessity, was there a lack of great political talents.

Many minds, it is true, have not the original power necessary to cope with large occasions, and are crushed beneath their weight. But it is these very occasions which discipline others into nine-tenths of their greatness; and when exigencies arise, and continue long enough to call forth the requisite abilities, intellectual giants are sure to obey the summons and cluster around the cause that requires their strength.

WASHINGTON IRVING.

One of the most brilliant and genial luminaries of our country has recently been extinguished. One of the brightest ornaments of our literature—an historian of the most fascinating character, who has shed light on the annals of his native land, who has sketched, with a truthful and graceful pencil, the lineaments of its first great explorer, and portrayed, with equal skill, the social habits, patriotic labors, and noble triumphs of its great defender and friend, whose glorious name he bore; the versatile essayist, whom we know not whether to admire most for his playful humor, high-toned morality, or elegant diction, and who, to the attraction of polished manners, united the charms of faithful friendship, and the higher graces of christian philosophy,—Washington Irving, of world-wide fame,—the first American writer who indelibly impressed his name on the literature of the nineteenth century, and, by his charming productions, placed that of his own country at least on an equality, in its luxuriant beauty, with that of the British Isles,—this great and good man, and honored American citizen,—has been removed to a higher sphere. In his demise, the republic of letters has received a shock through all its borders, and a vacancy been made which no genius of equally rare and varied accomplishments is prepared to fill. We know not whether Scotland, who gave him a father, or England, who gave him a mother, or the United States, who gave him a country, has the greatest right to deplore his loss. He belonged to the whole Anglican world; and Spain, where he resided as the minister plenipotentiary of this government, and where he made himself familiar with Spanish lore, has no slight claim to regard him as a countryman, and one, too, who has extended her fame to the remotest boundaries of civilization.

Still, although he spent the most brilliant portion of his life in foreign lands—we mean that portion of it in which he first acquired his great fame as an author—yet we think he belonged

more especially to this country, for here he was born. He was an American citizen. This was his home; and like every true patriot, who entertains a proper sense of his civil and religious privileges, he was proud of his country, and loved her and her institutions. Much cause as New York has to felicitate herself on her commerce and her material grandeur, she has no jewel in her crown half so costly and bright as Washington Irving, who, with truthfulness, wit, and humor, has illustrated and rendered memorable her early history. She has, in her time, had great statesmen, but none of them, as we mean to show, has given such an impulse to the civilization of the age and the advancement of society as has this elegant and unostentatious scholar. We are his beneficiaries. On us, we feel, above all others, the light of his beautiful genius and large affections not only dawned, but shone in all its noontide splendor.

Nearest to him, in this moral and intellectual sphere, stand the scholars of our country, gifted men and writers, who, from similarity of tastes and pursuits, are best able to appreciate the qualities of his refined and cultivated intellect, and the value of his literary labors. Such men, from a certain congeniality of experience, are prepared to sympathize with the trials of authors, to realize the difficulties they encounter in their career, and to enjoy their triumphs,—the triumphs of talent, fidelity, and courage,—and these are the men in our country who, in their admiration and reverence of Washington Irving, pay the highest possible tribute to his excellence. Their standard is high, their taste exacting. They are familiar with the ultimatum reached by the loftiest minds of past ages, and the appeal for a costly approval falls unheeded on their ears, which does not furnish remarkable and unanswerable evidence of something superior in letters to the attainments of their predecessors and their contemporaries. But there was much, very much, in the lucubrations of this prince of essayists, which, while it kindled the souls of the more gifted, and supplied the most exquisite gratifications, at the same time touched deeply the universal heart of humanity. His style was simple, intelligible, and flowing—a perfect model; and his narratives, fictitious or real, so tender, fascinating, and sparkling as to arrest and control the attention, excite the imagination, and thrill the heart, in nearly equal degree, of all classes of readers. The unprecedented popularity of his works is evinced by the fact that, during his lifetime, their sale, in this country alone, amounted to half a million of volumes. What a triumph is this of mind over the domain of intellect, more enviable than that of any monarch or any conqueror! What

youth or maiden, what sire or matron, what grandfather or grandmother, in the land, addicted to books, has not read, over and over again, with tears the pathetic, with smiles the merry, and with admiration the descriptive, tales of Launcelot Sangstaff, Jonathan Oldstyle, and Geoffrey Crayon, esquires—the same delightful author under different names! They are tales of domestic, village, or rural life, and the thrilling memories they call up, joyous or sad, mysterious or playful, connected with national usages or universal sentiments, irrespective of rank or circumstance, will never die out of the deep affections of the English or the American people. The magic which their author exerts, and which is so transcendant in our literature, is its hearty and unique benevolence, which makes him the accomplished friend, not of one solitary class, but of all classes of society. It is said that the crowd attending his funeral was so great that a full hour was occupied by those who passed around his bier, in order to catch a last glance at the features of one so venerated and beloved; but what period would it require, if all those in the United States, young and old, rich and poor, from town and country, from the seaboard to the mountains, and from the mountains to the prairies of the far west, who are admirers of his writings, and who reverence his memory, were to pass successively around his grave, in order to throw upon it a laurel, a rose, or a sprig of myrtle! How many days, or weeks, not to say months, would not be occupied in these manifestations of respect to departed genius, and what an accumulation of offerings should we not behold!

We hear the voice of untold numbers of American citizens, swelling on the breeze, and gathering strength as it advances, chanting in melancholy cadence, "Washington Irving, the elegant American writer, the charming American annalist, is no more! He has gone to his great reward! to the companionship of his own Columbus and his own Washington; to an intimate association with the pure, the gifted, the patriotic, and the renowned of all ages! He has exchanged the damp vapors of earth, with its agitating passions and appalling disappointments, for the healthful atmosphere of the celestial regions, where he dwells in the midst of grandeur, fragrance, and beauty; where the heavens over his head are full of light, and the music of love and undying gratulations falls upon his ear. 'And his works do follow him;' yes, they follow him, amidst reverberating acclamations, down the stream of time till Time takes hold on Eternity! Empires may rise and fall; constitutions may be framed and obliterated; unions may be cemented and dissolved; crowns glittering with diamonds may

crumble into dust, and the sceptre stretched over myriads of prostrate subjects may slip from the hand that wields it; but the halo of glory with which letters encompass the brow of genius is immortal. The triumphs of intellect, baptised in the pure and life-imparting fountain of benevolence, endures throughout the everlasting ages.

But Washington Irving is not dead. To all outward sense he is no more; and it is certain that his relatives and admiring friends, who hung on his accents with delight, will no more on earth listen to the music of his voice,—no more gaze on that countenance which beamed with intelligence and love,—no more reciprocate that grasp of the hand which was full of cordiality; but, so long as the English language, which he carried to the highest state of perfection, endures, he will continue to live in his remarkable and tasteful productions. "There is an immortality," said the far-seeing Milton, "in a good book. It has a life beyond life;" and to this kind of immortality on earth our kindly and well-beloved author, like the great epic poet himself, has a regal and unquestionable claim. So exquisite was his taste, so perfect his knowledge of language, that no single line, ever penned by this true-thoughted man, is soiled by an impure idea or degraded by a vulgar expression. We drink, from the fountain of his intelligence, waters limpid and sweet. The roses of his planting, though fragrant with the breath of Araby, bear no wounding thorns. When he seems to be invoking the muse of time-honored memory, we see that it is an angel standing at his elbow, encouraging him in his graceful and elegant labors. Goodness and talent were so blended in him that, while his precepts instruct the mind, his example furnished beautiful rules of life. Like a broad and exultant river, enriching the earth, reflecting the variegated scenery of nature, and sparkling in the sunlight, his life flowed grandly on, and all Europe and America rejoice in its benign influence. An Egyptian Nile, this river—placid as exhaustless—is neither congealed by the cold of winter nor converted into vapor by the heat of summer. Unborn generations shall gather Hesperian fruits beside its banks, and refresh themselves with its untainted waters.

In the parish of Holme, in Orkney, the old and modest mansion is still shown in which William Irving, the father of our author, was born. He married an English woman, removed to this country previous to the Revolution, and settled in the city of New York. Washington Irving was born April 3, 1783, at the conclusion of the seven-years war, in which our country achieved her independence. Thus, by a singular co-

incidence, the birth of a great nation and that of an individual, who, in after life, was destined to shed remarkable lustre on her literary annals, occurred at one and the same period. It is related that General Washington visited New York during Irving's childhood, and the latter being presented to him on some occasion as a child bearing his name, the Father of his Country placed his hand upon his head and blessed him. This may seem an unimportant circumstance; but as the acorn, cast into the soil, in time produces the oak, so causes, apparently slight, are often attended with results of the greatest magnitude. Irving himself says that *he felt that hand upon him during his whole life*, and believed that the circumstance exerted a propitious influence on his future fortunes. We are, perhaps, indebted to it for the last great labor of his rich and productive pen—his admirable Life of Washington, the best biography of him, as is conceded on all hands, that has yet been written.

The national and hereditary traits of an author are generally stamped upon his productions. The Scotch and English elements, combined in the mental constitution of Mr. Irving, formed the basis of a strong and beautiful character. From his father, he derived that love of antiquarian lore, which, owing to historical associations and border legends, deeply impressed on the memory in childhood, is inwrought, as it were, into the very framework of the Scotch mind, and of which we have striking examples, not only in Irving, but in the great wizard of the North himself. They were alike in this particular, as well as in many other mental idiosyncrasies, especially their tastes, their sources of intellectual gratification, and the passion they cherished and indulged for the antique, the quaint, and the marvellous. From his mother, he inherited that fondness for rural life, and local and venerated customs, and the beauties of nature and art, which is a national trait of Englishmen, and an excellent one wherever it is found. The courage with which he matured his plans, and carried them into effect, was distinctly of American growth. Thus we behold, in the structure of his intellect, the qualities which mark the genius of three nations, differing from each other, but so blended together as to produce a compact, harmonious, and well-proportioned character,—not, perhaps, the most original or vigorous type of such a combination that can be found, but one in which a certain grasp of intellect, of no mean breadth, power, and tenacity, constituted the foundation on which was erected a superstructure of unrivalled beauty, varied as the subject under consideration might require, either by the strongest contrasts

or the most delicate shades. He did not, as did Dr. Johnson, leviathan-like, carry the whole burden of English literature on his shoulders; but, before he paid his first visit to Europe, which occurred in 1804, at twenty-one years of age, he had mastered the profundities, as well as disentangled the intricacies, of Coke upon Littleton, and Blackstone upon Coke, and thoroughly understood the fabric of society as it existed among the Anglo-Saxons and their descendants,—in itself, no slight accomplishment. Of the learning of the law, like every gentleman of proper discernment, he was fond, but averse to the collisions and sinuosities into which the practice of the profession is sometimes said to run.

Thus prepared, he went to Europe for the purpose of restoring his health, which had been impaired by too much study; but he went with the propensities of a man of generous temperament, of a tenacious memory, of a quick eye, and fond of the memorials of the past. Antiquity had a fascination for him, as it has for most men of genius. Never were two years better spent, than those two years of the life of Washington Irving which intervened between A. D. 1804 and 1806. It was an era in his history in which he laid the the foundations of his future fame. He met Washington Alston abroad, who wished him to become an artist, as he discovered in him a genius for painting; but he turned from colors and flesh, from landscapes and histories which are pictured on the outward, to those which are impressed, with an equally masterly touch, on the inner sense; and preferred the pen to the pencil as an instrument, under the direction of his genius, whereby to describe the storm and the tempest, and the rainbow after the storm; the lineaments of the world outside of us, on which we tread, —lake, mountain, valley, and river,—and the emotions and reflections within us, which elevate us with mirth or depress us with sadness, or which enable us to pursue our course through devious paths, by the *media tutissima via*, not like sophomores, light-headed with vanity and pretension, but under the guidance of wisdom and discretion. In other words, when Washington Irving went to Europe for the first time, he had not only attained to his legal but intellectual majority, and was, like Saul, higher, by a head, than most of his contemporaries, in that strong, broad, Scottish, Anglo-American common sense, which best carries a man over an even or rugged road, makes him an acute observer of the passers by and the scenery, and, as a representative and minister of steady thought, is like that three-fold cord, of which we somewhere read, that is not easily broken. But, to the judgment of an orderly and well-trained

mind, acquainted with the proprieties of thought, and which could separate the solid gold of truth from the tinsel and meretricious array with which it is surrounded in every age and country, he united the imagination of a poet, the enthusiasm of a painter, and the good humor of a philosopher, who has turned his back on misery and discontent, as surly and unwelcome guests, and who, if he did not, like the Persian, worship, could admire, the rising and the setting sun, and was prepared to find, in all the utterances of nature, if not of man, harmonious expressions of satisfaction and delight, rather than a discordant chorus of eternal lamentations. With what absorbing interest, on this occasion, must he have trod the half-deserted streets of the seven-hilled city, through which once rolled the victorious car of the world-conquering Roman, glorified by a renown which cannot die, overhung by skies of mellow lustre, surrounded by flowery groves, and fanned by perfumed gales! We may readily picture to ourselves this man of elegant lore, contemplating with awe the magnificent church of St. Peters, where Art's proudest trophies—the breathing statue and glowing picture—commemorate the wonder-working power of genius. Italy, above all other countries, has been, if not the birthplace, yet the grand emporium and living theatre of the Arts. Italy, above all other countries, has been the chosen home of eloquence, genius and refinement. The antiquary may compass sea and land to collect intaglios and measure the height of pyramids, but the expanding mind of the poet and the painter will never fail to hover with longing curiosity about the consecrated soil of classic Italy!

With what delight, too, he must have visited Switzerland, gazed on her Alpine heights, placid lakes, and lovely valleys, and, among the Hollanders, traced, with an intense and lively curiosity, those eccentric and amusing traits of character and usage, united with many admirable and sturdy virtues, which he has powerfully and playfully blended in his Knickerbocker, and various papers of the Salmagundi, with so much skill and adroitness, that Sir Walter Scott, whose risibles were never moved by dull jests or indifferent humor, was obliged, in their perusal, as he frankly confesses, to indulge, not in smiles, but in immoderate laughter, until his very sides shook with glee.

If he was not an artist, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, his works have fostered and stimulated the genius of artists, and furnished them with innumerable subjects for the exercise of their peculiar powers. It is the high function of the artist to give form and embodiment to the conceptions of the true poet, the object of both poet and artist being to re-

produce nature in her most striking, beautiful, and sublime manifestations. Thus, speaking equally to the eye, the imagination, the heart, and the judgment, they co-operate with each other, the poet collecting the materials and the scenes into which the painter or sculptor infuses a new and powerful life, by his pencil or chisel. Hence the rich and graceful works of Washington Irving are a complete treasure-house of Art, full of inimitable pictures, many of which the illustrated editions of his Sketch Book, Bracebridge Hall, Alhambra, Tales of a Traveller, Life of Goldsmith, and Life of George Washington, have already consecrated to immortality on both sides of the Atlantic. In his spiritual conceptions of nature, and his truthful and glowing images of life on its brighter sides, he has therefore done as much for Art as if he had been a Claude Lorraine, a Paul Veronese, or a Hogarth.

When he returned to America, he was admitted, to the bar, not because he intended to practice the law, for his genius and tastes lay in a different path, but because he wished to graduate, so to speak, in his profession, and set up a landmark by which to denote his past career, and from which to start in a new direction. At the instance of two of his brothers, who had established an extensive commercial house with branches, one in this country, and the other in England, he now embarked in commerce, in the successful prosecution of which his law learning supplied a decided advantage. But commerce, however respectable an avocation, indispensable to the welfare of cities and states, an avenue to wealth and consequence, and a powerful prop and propellor of civilization, is attended with numerous uncertainties and serious risks, and the mere scholar and man of genius, though honest, intelligent, and faithful, but who, while he is engaged in his utilitarian labors, cannot restrain his imagination from running aside to pick up flowers, or mount precipitous heights, or gaze upon the ocean with other views than those of navigation, is not so well adapted, as the votary of wealth, to the toils, the trials, and the vicissitudes which appertain to the mercantile life. A single Roscoe may arise in a century, who, to a talent for business, may unite the love and successful pursuit of letters, but instances of such achievements are so rare in any age as to render the experiment uncertain and somewhat hazardous. Fortunately for the world, but unfortunately, as it probably seemed at the time, to the brothers, their house, like many other stable American houses, subjected to the overpowering shock of disastrous times, failed at the close of our second war with Great Britain, and, shipwrecked in fortune and destitute of resources,

Washington Irving then determined to devote himself exclusively to letters as a profession. What courage this resolve must have required we may imagine, when we call to mind that he had little or no capital to invest in literature but his talents, and that books for the million are not published without money. Under these discouraging circumstances, he made up his mind to become an author, and, what is highly honorable to him, determined to publish works "which the world would not willingly let die," and even to create, as far as one individual could do it, a literature for his country. This, we believe, was the stern and lofty purpose by which he was animated at this interesting crisis in his fortunes, and which he ultimately, and in a good degree, carried out to its consummation.

But, in the meantime, on what were his hopes of acquiring fame, and it may be fortune, by such a direction of his energies, founded? On the reputation he had already acquired in his own country by the publication of his Knickerbocker, and the fugitive pieces that had appeared in Salmagundi? Although these had been read with peculiar zest, especially by the citizens of New York, dwelling playfully and minutely, as they did, on the customs, manners, and oddities of their Dutch ancestors, yet it is certain that they were not much praised by our American critics till after their author had gone abroad, published other works, and acquired an European reputation. Then, for the first time, the arbiters of literary excellence in our country seem to have discovered, what in truth was the fact, that these early compositions of the elegant American tourist surpassed, in vigor and originality, any of his subsequent productions, and they were thenceforth profuse in their commendations of their author. We imagine that the influential motive that induced Washington Irving to cut loose from all trammels and embark fearlessly in a literary career, was the confidence he felt in his own powers, and his capacity to reach a high point of literary excellence, predicated on what he knew he had already accomplished, notwithstanding the apparent indifference and neglect at home of his own countrymen. There are few persons, eminently gifted like our author, who do not seem, as it were, inspired to fulfil their high vocation, and who, when the hour of trial comes, are not armed, as it it were by an unseen power, with the courage necessary to meet and overcome the difficulties by which they are surrounded. We see this spirit of determination manifested by Mr. Irving when, (the propriety of an English edition of the Sketch Book having been suggested by Mr. Lockhart

in the pages of Blackwood's Magazine, and having met with a rebuff in his application to Mr. Murray, the great Aristarchus of the London book trade,) he employed a publisher on his own account, and took the responsibility of success and reputation into his own hands. This was a somewhat bold movement on the part of a stranger in England, and he, too, an American citizen, whose country, at that time, had little or no reputation for authorship with British critics; and the only reason why it actually failed was, that, before the work was put on sale, his publisher became a bankrupt. In this exigency, that great and noble man, Sir Walter Scott, the personal friend of Mr. Irving, and who entertained the highest appreciation for his genius, personally applied to Mr. Murray, and used such arguments with him as to induce him to undertake the proposed London edition of the Sketch Book, as he did also of all the other works which Mr. Irving subsequently published in England, paying him princely amounts for the copyrights.

We have said that Mr. Irving entered the lists as an author with a view to create, as far as lay in his power, an American literature, and this was a lofty and noble design, and proper to be encouraged and executed by men of ability who had confidence in their resources. It was, besides, a labor eminently fitted to the age in which he rose and flourished, and demanded by its necessities. It will be recollected that fifty years have elapsed since he commenced the publication of his very pleasing, racy, and graceful productions, and those who, occupying the present period as a stand-point, look back to the commencement of the present century, when he began to write and publish, will perceive that, in comparison with the intellectual progress and rare scholarship which distinguishes the present remarkable era, not only in Europe but our own country, we were, at that time, almost without a literature, and certainly without standard authors, in any considerable number, who were worthy of the name, and that the insinuations of British critics in respect to our deficiences, under which we were so restive, were not without a foundation. It is true there was a general diffusion of elementary and popular information in our country. In theology and politics, we were not without our literary champions. Edwards and West had penetrated far into the domain of metaphysics. Barlow had attempted an epic poem commemorative of the glories of American discovery and independence. Chief Justice Marshall had published a life of Washington; Mr. Wirt a biography of Patrick Henry; and Robert Walsh an appeal to the world from the unjust censure of British critics. Congressional eloquence then, as now, was in the

ascendant. Venerable universities sent forth their annual swarms of candidates for the learned professions. Theatres were patronized. Newspapers of a partisan type diffused more or less local and foreign intelligence. The North American Review had been established. Boston, always ambitious of literary renown, had grown into another Athens, at least in her own opinion, and scholars of more or less merit were seen here and there on that little peninsula, pluming their wings and preparing themselves, like the eagle, for an aerial flight. It was the day of large promise, much ridiculous self-gratulation, and shallow performance. At length the day of serious struggle and actual triumph came. It was a great achievement to have secured a free government. Liberal institutions, a free press, and the nervous and manly discussion of all questions bearing on the theory of human rights, on politics, laws, institutions, art, science, and literature, quickened and fertilized the intellect, and imparted a powerful impulse to the mind in novel and generally right directions. What wonder was it, that, in the soil of vigorous and inquisitive minds, penetrating into the mysteries of nature, inventions should spring up and be multiplied! It is perfectly safe to say that no age, in the number, importance, and splendor of its discoveries, can bear a comparison with the last half century in our country. The motive power of steam and electricity, applicable to machinery and thought, disclosed by our ingenious countrymen, have facilitated intercourse between states and nations, strengthened the bonds that unite them, extended the circulation of thought everywhere, and, by the new features they have introduced into the history of civilization, actually changed the face of the world. But these are only isolated instances of the inventive genius of our citizens, among the thousands which might be mentioned, which have contributed, in as many ways, to the convenience, the comfort, and the glory of the generation which is now passing over the stage. Books, too, in every department of inquiry and thought, have been written and put forth by learned and cultivated scholars, until the shelves of our publishers groan under the accumulated weight. No age or nation has been, or is, richer in its poets, its essayists, its orators, historians, mathematicians, artists, and philosophers, than the United States in this nineteenth century. In political science, we have furnished a Marshall, a Story, a Webster, a Calhoun, an Upshur, and a Tucker—statesmen all of the largest grasp of intellect and the rarest powers of analysis. In poetry, we have had a Longfellow, a Bryant, a Fitz Halleck, a Willis, a Holmes, and a Poe, who have many admirers

among the best judges of poetical merit. In art, time would fail us to enumerate the candidates for immortality in painting, sculpture, and statuary,—who have reached a high grade of perfection, and whose names it might seem invidious to mention. But why have not the American people a suitable repository for the works of western genius in the great emporium of the nation? We will not impugn their liberality and good taste, but this is a desideratum which ought to be supplied, and we believe, confidently, will be. In novel writing, we also have been prolific, and although we have no standards that have attained the excellence of Scott and Bulwer, of James, D'Israeli, and Marryatt, in Great Britain, yet it cannot be doubted that the vigor of Mr. Cooper's genius, his racy delineations of the Indian character, his thrilling descriptions of border life and maritime adventure, and his rough and uncompromising independence, entitle him to very high consideration; and that we have American novelists, such as Kennedy, Simms, and others, who may, without presumption, aspire to occupy niches in the temple of fame along with him. In history, we may be especially proud of the rare trophies we have won. With the works of Hume, Gibbon, Alison, Macauley, and Robertson, the master historians of the old world, we may fairly place in competition, in matter, in style, and general execution, the thorough and finished productions of Bancroft, Prescott, Irving, Ramsay, Ticknor, Palfray, and Sparks. It is in the histories of countries, that the world expects to find the highest evidence of the talents, the learning, and the genius of their authors. The ambition that prompts to this kind of literary enterprise is of the highest character, and is usually developed in those who are prepared to undertake it at all, after the fires of imagination have died out, and the mind has been sobered by experience, brightened by observation, consolidated by reflection, illuminated by learning, and matured and mellowed by age. Those, therefore, who, like Irving, engage in labors requiring such versatile powers and so wide a reach of information, and excel in them, as he did, receive from living and unborn generations, as they appear successively upon the stage of life, the richest and most ennobling laurels woven for the brow by the hand of taste and justice, and are pointed out with pride as the rarest evidences of a nation's capacity and progress.

The imagination of a fine author, who trembles, hopes, and resolves under the inspirations of genius, is developed early in life along with his affections. We first open our eyes and look with interest and delight on the beauties and sublimities of the outer world before we turn them intensely inward, and

scrutinize with a keener vision the mysteries and depths of our own wondrous nature. We feel deeply and rightly, before we are able to analyze our feelings with artistic skill, and are poets, painters, and novelists, before we become philosophers and historians. Such is the unalterable law of human progress to which we submit, and which, with a gentle, effective, and unseen power, shapes our career, without our consciousness and often knowledge of its existence. Such, in brief, is a true statement of the gradual unfolding of the peculiar and beautiful mind of Washington Irving. Even in his earliest efforts, he dwelt more upon the recollections of the past, than upon the scenes and agitating events of the present. He was fond of the marvellous and the traditionary, and gathered up legends of the olden time with the zest of an antiquary and the taste of a connoisseur, reproducing them with all the attractions which his rich, genial, and lively fancy could throw around them. Hence, his inclinations led him rather to describe manners and customs and paint scenery than to discuss principles. The latter he thought more properly belonged to statesmen, logicians, and inductive philosophers. Nothing can exceed the racy, hearty, and uncontrollable gushes of humor, forever bubbling up from the depths of his own mind, with which he delineates the quaint and curious usages of the early Dutch settlers of New York and her governors,—their dress, their opinions, their popular gatherings, and their rural sports. Here we find the genius of history, like a brilliant nymph, blushing and laughing by turns, and bringing Comus to the assembly, covered with smiles and leaping for joy, before introducing the serious and tragic actors upon the stage. If there is any objection to "Knickerbocker," it is that the overflowing pleasantry of its author is never stayed in its progress, and that the mind loses something of the resiliency which is apt to result from the conflict of emotions, and moves forward too uninterruptedly in the same unvaried channel of delight. If there were now and then a dash of sadness in it, or shadows passing over the heavens before they were spanned by the rainbow, we should experience some relief from the intense exercise of the same feelings, however agreeable and joyous. Still, it must be admitted that it is a work of great vigor and originality, and replete with a vein of inimitable humor from the beginning to the close. The Sketch Book and Bracebridge Hall contain a greater variety of pictures of the most elaborate, faultless, and truthful characters, which we never cease to admire until we begin to criticise them, and are then humiliated by the discovery that the slight-

est variation, in their lights and shades, would mar the beauty of the whole performance. What rythm there is in his periods, as if every sentence might be set to music! What copies of nature, now in her wildest, anon in her most lovely aspects! How he draws the English landscape in all its quiet beauty, as if he were familiar with it from childhood! English social life—its customs, old superstitions, its christenings, weddings, festivals, and funerals,—into all of these he enters with a thorough sympathy, and detracts nothing from their reality, while he throws around them the rich coloring of his imagination. In his pictures of the halls of Alhambra, and his narrative of the conquest of Granada, which are justly reckoned among his finest productions, he mounts on a bolder wing and soars to a loftier height, and the gorgeousness and pomp of his descriptions would lead us to think that we are reading the romance of history, were we not assured that "truth is often stranger than fiction," and makes equally large demands on the faith of mankind. Most of his tales are destitute of a plot, and derive their interest from thrilling incidents and striking circumstances, true to nature and to life, but which are described with a depth of pathos which is sure to touch the heart and draw tears from the eyes. Who ever read his tale of "the Broken Heart" without emotion! An American gentleman, who visited Lord Byron two months before his decease, relates the following anecdote of him in connexion with this touching story:

"I received a note from him," the gentleman says, "requesting me to call, and bring with me Irving's Sketch Book. I took it in my hand, and went once more to the illustrious author's residence. He rose from his couch when I entered, and, pressing my hand warmly, said: 'Have you brought the Sketch Book?' I handed it to him, when, seizing it with enthusiasm, he turned to "the Broken Heart." 'That,' said he, 'is one of the finest things ever written on earth, and I want to hear an American read it. But, stay! Do you know Irving?' I replied that I had never seen him. 'God bless him!' exclaimed Byron, 'he is a genius, and he has something better than genius—a heart. I wish I could see him; but I fear I never shall. Well, well; read the "Broken Heart"—yes, the "Broken Heart." What a word!'

"In closing the first paragraph, I said: 'Shall I confess it, I believe in broken hearts.' 'Yes,' exclaimed Byron, 'and so do I; and so does everybody but philosophers and fools.' While I was reading one of the most touching portions of that mournful piece, I observed that Byron wept. He turned his

eyes on me, and said: 'You see me weep, sir. Irving himself never wrote that story without weeping; nor can I hear it without tears. I have not wept much in this world, for trouble never brings tears to my eyes; but I always have tears for the "Broken Heart."' When I read the last line of Moore's verses at the close of the piece, Byron said: 'What a being that Tom Moore is, and Irving, and Emmet, and his beautiful love! What beings all! Sir, how many such men as Irving are there in America? God don't send many such spirits into this world. I want to go to America for five reasons: I want to see Irving; I want to see your stupendous scenery; I want to see Washington's grave; I want to see the classic form of living freedom; and I want to get your government to recognize Greece as an independent nation. Poor Greece!'"

This testimony of Lord Byron touching the merits of Irving, coming warm from the heart, and reaching the heart, and kindling it into a flame, which the tears, falling from the eyes, cannot quench, is worth all, and more than all, the eulogies on him that can be written. It is genius responding to the voice of genius out of the depths, and, as it sweeps its fingers across the harp string of the passions, drawing forth exquisite and mournful music.

It is not our intention to enter into an analysis of the merits and defects of the literary productions of Washington Irving. That is rather the province of the critic and reviewer than of the eulogist. We have deemed it sufficient to glance at the general traits by which his writings are distinguished, particularly of his earlier and perhaps more fascinating compositions. Each of his graver works, on which the largest share of his fame as an author rests—we mean his biography of Columbus and his life of Washington—and which are, to no inconsiderable extent, histories of the age in which their heroes appeared and played their great parts in the drama of life and of nations, requires a distinct and thorough consideration; but we may remark of them, in general, that they reanimate the past, and while they present to "the mind's eye" a moving panorama of outward events of the utmost importance to the world, and especially to ourselves, they let us into the secret motives, tones of thinking, and habits of the eminent actors in those events, whereby the shadows thrown around them by the hand of time are dissipated, and they stand before us living, breathing, and courageous men, revealed in their true lineaments and their just and noble proportions.

It has been objected to Irving by some critics that his mind

was not original; that he was an imitator of other men's style, and a borrower of other men's thoughts; that his best compositions are mere reproductions of the efforts of the distinguished authors of the age of Queen Anne; that he contemplates manners and customs from the same stand-points, views them under the same lights, and talks of them pleasantly enough, but in the same way; that he filched his humor from Addison, his satire from Swift, his grace and vivacity from Goldsmith, and his tenderness from Sterne and Mackenzie; in a word, that if he shines, it is under the coruscations reflected from the brighter luminaries of a former age, and that he really added, to the literature of his own day, nothing startling and nothing new, worthy of commemoration. Before vindicating our author against these charges, it is eminently proper that he should be heard in the defence he makes of himself when they were first brought to his notice. He does not not say much about them, for he is a modest man, but he distinctly joins issue with his illiberal accusers:

"I am aware," he says, in the preliminary chapter to Bracebridge Hall, "I am aware that I often travel over beaten ground, and treat of subjects that have already been discussed by abler pens. Indeed, various authors have been mentioned as my models, to whom I should feel flattered if I thought I bore the slightest resemblance; but, in truth, I write after no model that I am conscious of, and I write with no idea of imitation or competition."

It was proper that Irving, who could afford to do it, should, with a consciousness of his own honesty and integrity, and a becoming sense of his rights, enter this protest against literary calumny and injustice. The truth is, every man's wit and humor, if he have any at all, are his own, and are not an exchangeable commodity, transferable like gold and silver, but belong exclusively to himself; and wit and humor, grace, vivacity, and pathos, which do not belong to others, may be justly claimed by those whose property they really are; and that Washington Irving had as large and valuable an estate of this kind as any of his predecessors and contemporaries, and as most of them combined, which was all his own, and to which he could set up a valid and unquestionable title, cannot be doubted by any who are familiar with his writings.

Of his leading purpose as an author, it is fortunate also that he has distinctly spoken, so that no person can labor under misapprehension in respect to his designs:

"My only aim," he says, "is to paint characters and manners. I am no politician. The more I have considered the

study of politics, the more I have found it full of perplexity; and I have contented myself, as I have in my religion, with the faith in which I was brought up, regulating my own conduct by its precepts, but leaving to abler heads the task of making converts.

"I have always been of opinion that much good might be done by keeping mankind in good humor with one another. I may be wrong in my philosophy, but I shall continue to practice it until convinced of its fallacy."

It is certain that he never was so convinced. Such, then, was the great end he proposed to himself by authorship,—an end that he reached in all his healthful and glowing compositions,—the making men happy, and keeping them so. Simple yet sublime philosophy!

It will be remembered that he went to England for the second time, and commenced authorship there at the close of our second war with Great Britain, in which we had crowned ourselves with laurels, but in the course of which the feelings of alienation between the two countries, engendered by our great revolutionary struggle, had been rather increased than allayed. It was not a moment when an American citizen, visiting Great Britain, could expect a very cordial welcome; but his mission was the peaceful one of the scholar and man of genius; and the pictures of English life and scenery which he portrayed with so much feeling, fidelity, and beauty, and the genial and benevolent tone which pervaded all his sketches and narratives, did more to restore the era of good feeling between the parties, than the most powerful arguments suggested by national rights and interests, and enforced by the most statesmanlike logic, possibly could have done. By these exquisite productions of the Anglo-American essayist, the British nation was reminded that both Englishmen and Americans claimed a common origin, spoke a common language, and were actuated by a common sense of right and justice; and that nations, between whom so many motives existed for maintaining a firm and lasting friendship, should not inflict wrong on each other, nor, for trivial causes, fall out by the way.

As we have cited on this occasion the ungracious suspicions of those who were jealous of Irving's fame, we may congratulate ourselves and others on the following beautiful tribute which a friend, and a just and appreciative critic, pays to his merits:

"To have the power, by the magic of the inspiration of genius, to elevate the mind and improve the heart,—to cause the rich to forget their covetousness, and the poor their pov-

erty,—to while away the tedious hours of declining age, of bodily pain, or mental disquietude,—this is, indeed, a gift more excellent than the giant's strength, the victor's laurel, or the conqueror's crown; and this honor has Washington Irving, the author of the Sketch Book and the Alhambra, the biographer of Columbus and of Washington."

But even this tribute, studded with jewels as it is, would be inadequate, without an offering from the muse, which comes in good time, from a lady who is not unknown to readers on both sides of the Atlantic, and who is ever willing to twine a wreath around the brow of genius:

"In classic lore, in taste refined,
Great IRVING shines a master mind;
At Shakspeare's tomb, in Spain's domains,
He binds us in his golden chains

"He tells us of the new-found world,
Where Freedom's banner, broad unfurled,
Floated 'mid stars, a symbol bright
Of glory ne'er to set in night!

"And well his country's charms he knew;
Grand are his pictures, strong and true;
Yet painted with so just a hand,
That, like Apelles' work, they stand.

"And calmly wore his life away,
As sits the sun at close of day;
Myriads unborn shall learn his name,
And crown him with undying fame!"

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

II.—THE REGULAR ARMY.

The aggregate strength of the regular army of the United States is at present 18,093, of which number 1,083 are commissioned officers. The President is authorized to increase this aggregate by the addition of private soldiers to 18,573. If the army were reduced to its field or minimum organization, the aggregate would be 12,931. The army is organized as follows: One major general, three brigadier generals, an adjutant general's department, a judge advocate's department, an inspector general's department, a quartermaster general's department, a subsistence department, a medical department, a pay department, a corps of engineers, a corps of topograph-

ical engineers, an ordnance department, five regiments of mounted troops, four regiments of artillery, and ten regiments of infantry. Of the 1,083 commissioned officers, 735 are regimental officers, and the remainder are general and staff officers.

The above force is distributed along the seaboard and on the frontier. Owing to the prejudice against standing armies which exists in this country, and the expense of maintaining troops, the strength of the army has been kept at its lowest limit, and, were it not for the actual necessity of troops to protect our frontier against the Indians, it is probable that it would never have reached its present size.

The purposes for which we need an army in time of peace are, first, to garrison those of our seaboard defences, which, from their isolated position, would otherwise be in great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy before a militia garrison could reach them. Take, for example, the fortifications on the island of Tortugas, in the Gulf of Mexico, which, in case of war with a naval power, could be immediately seized upon by the enemy's fleet and held against any force which we could send against it. Such forts, unless garrisoned, will fall into the hands of the enemy, to be used by him as a refuge and stronghold under our very shores. So small, however, is our regular army, that the services of all the troops are required upon the frontier, a small number only being stationed in our fortifications for purposes of instruction and to guard certain important positions which it were madness to leave unprotected. Bare walls and bristling cannon, without men, are worse than useless, for they frequently occupy positions which, without them, would afford no object to the enemy. In the second place, the army is required to guard the frontier and to carry on hostile operations against the Indian tribes. The entire line required to be protected on the frontier is about 11,000 miles in length. It comprises the boundaries of the settlements on both sides of the Rocky mountains, and all the lines of communication between them. The force available for this purpose is about 16,000 enlisted men, or three men to every two miles. The result is, that our frontier is inadequately guarded, and, by this appearance of weakness, the Indians are emboldened to continued hostilities. The army is divided up into small detachments, which are kept constantly moving from one point to another at an enormous expense and greatly to the detriment of the army's efficiency. The great item of expense in the army appropriations is that of transportation of troops and supplies, and it is questionable whether the dim-

inution of this item by an increase of force would not more than compensate for the additional expense of its support. In the third place, the army is intended as a nucleus about which a large force may be rallied in case of foreign war, and we look to the officers of the army for the military experience and knowledge which will then be in so great demand. So great would be the demand for regular troops in the event of war with any foreign power, that it would be necessary to withdraw our entire force from the frontier and leave the people to protect themselves against the incursions of the Indians. That our army should be capable of properly performing its part, it should be in the highest state of efficiency—perfect in point of discipline and instruction. It is, however, impossible that this state of things can exist in an army so small as ours when required to perform the service which, from necessity, it does. An increase of the army is demanded by the unprotected state of certain points on our seaboard, the inadequately protected state of our frontier, and the necessity of a highly efficient force ready to take the field in case of war with a foreign power.

The people of the country need fear no danger to their liberties from a standing army of even ten times the present strength. From the immense extent of our frontier the army must be so widely distributed that a speedy concentration of force could not take place. Our army, too, is so officered that it would be impossible to obtain their concert in any steps dangerous to the interests of the people. The officers of the army represent every section of the country, and, being outside of the whirl of political life, their political views are eminently conservative. The army, as at present organized, could never become the tool of a political faction. It may be looked upon as one of the great bonds of union of these States.

The expense of increasing the army need not be in proportion to its increased efficiency, since it will not be necessary to increase the officers in the same ratio as the increase in the number of men. It is apparent that in large bodies the proportion of officers need not be so great as in a small force. At small forts a certain number of officers are required for the routine duties, which are the same for a much larger body of troops. A company of a hundred men requires no more officers than one of fifty, but the strength of the former is double that of the latter.

The manner in which the army is distributed on the frontier has been very injurious to its efficiency and discipline; but, owing to the small size of the army and the constant demand

for troops at different points, it has been impossible as yet to remedy the evil. The necessity for a change in this respect has been seen by the Secretary of War, who has recommended the concentration of troops in large garrisons where they can be cheaply supplied, and where they will have every facility of instruction during the winter; while, during the summer, expeditions can be sent out into the Indian country to punish them for their aggressions, or so intimidate them as to prevent future hostilities.

Under the system here proposed the army will have the benefit both of field service and military instruction in large bodies. Expeditions against the Indians are excellent means of training the soldier in many things which are essential to efficiency in war with civilized powers. He becomes accustomed to long and rapid marches, is inured to the exposure of camp life, and learns to depend on himself for many things which, in garrison, he finds ready to his hand. He learns how to do away with superfluities and make himself comfortable with the smallest means. Engagements with the Indians accustom him to conflict and destroy the timidity with which the raw soldier first meets the foe. But long expeditions by small detachments are not calculated to keep up the highest degree of discipline. In this respect a laxity is soon observed, and hence the necessity of large garrisons where every officer and soldier is brought to his proper level. In small garrisons the duties of guard and police occupy the greater part of the soldiers' time, and leave very little opportunity for military instruction. It is difficult, under such circumstances, to keep up a proper state of discipline. Small garrisons are commanded by young officers who, having once been in command, are illy qualified to return to the condition of inferiors. Many of our posts are commanded by captains and lieutenants. There are no places for field officers. Frequently the only command of a colonel is his adjutant, quartermaster, and the band. The system of small posts is injurious both to officers and men; it weakens our strength and involves great expense. In European countries military camps are established at suitable locations where large armies are maintained; and the necessity of collecting large bodies of troops for purposes of instruction led to the establishment of similar camps in England previous to the Crimean war. An English writer, speaking on this subject, says: "The British army, having so many colonies to defend, leaves only a limited number of soldiers in the United Kingdom at one time, and these can be accommodated in barracks. *Such soldiers, however, are not an army;* they are iso-

lated regiments, or even fragments of regiments, deprived of the powers of learning those combined movements and manœuvres so essential to an army in the field. When a military force has somewhat lost its consolidation and due organization by a long peace, an assemblage of many regiments in one large, open spot for a considerable time affords an opportunity for learning the art of war; and a camp constituted by such an assemblage then becomes serviceable." These remarks apply to our own army, which is distributed in small bodies over an immense territory, and never has an opportunity to learn the tactics of large bodies.

One singular feature in the organization of our army is the small number of general officers. The evil effects of this deficiency have been pointed out by Secretary Floyd in his message of 1858, where he recommends the appointment of three additional brigadier generals.

The country is divided into seven military departments, each of which ought to be commanded by a general officer. Four of them are commanded by colonels detached from their regiments for that purpose. The total strength of the army is about twenty regiments, which require, to be completely officered, ten brigadier generals, five major generals, two lieutenant generals, and a general commanding-in-chief. Supernumerary general officers are also required for special service on courts-martial, tours of inspection, and various other duties.

In case of a great war, a great difficulty will be to find suitable commanders. There are many officers in the army who are eminently qualified to command, but whose rank is not sufficient to entitle them to do so. It is very discouraging to officers of ability and long service to find themselves, in time of actual service, commanded by raw young generals—brave, no doubt, but entirely destitute of military knowledge.

By thus increasing the number of general officers an incentive to exertion is afforded to young officers, who can see before them some chance of obtaining a position worthy of their efforts. General officers being appointed by selection, it will be in the power of any officer to acquire that position before he is too old to be fit for any. One great defect in our military system is the want of some such incentive; and though it would not be advisable entirely to abolish the rule of promotion by seniority, yet desirable positions ought to be made selective to serve as a spur to exertion. It is objected to, that these positions would be bestowed on political favorites; but the chances are that these favorites will in general be the very ones

who deserve to be so. By opening these positions to selection, the deserving have at least a chance to secure them, which now they can only obtain by the rule of seniority; and when a position is obtained in this manner no effort is made to fill it with distinction, since the occupant has obtained it by no merit of his own, but by the ordinary course of events. It is probable that there is less incentive to exertion in our army than in any army in the world. In foreign services distinctions of all kinds are open to military men. Promotion in the army, honorary distinctions of all kinds, advancement to the nobility, await the officer who has devoted his talents to the service of his country.

A law might be framed allowing of promotion by seniority, to which there might be objections, but the effect of which would be to infuse new life into the army which already gives evidence of sluggishness and red-tape-ism. Such is now the state of things that when a young officer makes any effort to do more than perform the mere routine duties of his profession, and thus advance his own interest by contributing to the welfare of the country, he finds himself hemmed in by the inertia of superior rank on the one hand, and the jealousy of his equals on the other. Were incentives offered to exertion, there is little doubt that young officers would devote more of their time to the investigation of military and scientific subjects for which their education eminently fits them.

The country, in bestowing upon its officers a thorough scientific and military education, expects something more of them than the mere performance of routine duties. Plenty of young men can be found for this purpose without the expense of a long course of education at West Point. An acquaintance with the higher mathematics is not essential to the proper performance of the duties of an officer in any branch of the profession. The object of giving officers a highly scientific education is to enable them to investigate scientific subjects which are intimately connected with the military art, and thus contribute to the welfare of the country by developing the springs of knowledge.

A cadet graduates at West Point with a highly scientific training and habits of study, which eminently fit him for prosecuting his inquiries; but he is immediately put in a position where all that is necessary to secure his success is ordinary prudence and propriety; and it would be expecting too much of the majority of men to look for ardent exertion under such circumstances. Place before them, however, the hope of reward, and the state of things will be immediately

changed. It was this hope that made them distinguished at the military school, and it will have the same effect in subsequent life.

The staff of our army is very large, compared with the number of troops. This is rendered necessary by the extent of territory over which the army is distributed, and it is anticipated that in case of a foreign war, which will necessitate the concentration of troops, this staff will serve for a much larger force. To the staff is confided the administration of the army, and upon its efficiency depends, in a great degree, the success or non-success of military operations.

We have in our army the staff proper, viz: the adjutant general's department, the quartermaster general's department, the subsistence department, and the pay department, the medical staff, and the staff corps. The first class are the administrative corps; and its officers, with the exception of the pay department, are selected from the subalterns of the regiments. The officers of the pay department are appointed indiscriminately from the army or civil life. The officers of this department have the rank of major, and the position being a very desirable one is usually conferred as a reward for distinguished services either in military or civil life. The officers of this department are not entitled to command, but they are at liberty to exchange with any other corps of the army. In the British service there is no pay department, the paymasters being regimental officers, not subject to promotion.

Of the administrative corps, the quartermaster general's department is the most important. The duties of the corps are very unequally distributed, and many services which, in other armies are assigned to other corps, are in ours thrust upon the quartermaster's department. We have one department for military correspondence; another for subsisting the troops; another for arming them; another for paying them; and everything else that is necessary for the administration of the army devolves on the quartermaster's department. Hence the expenditures of this department are greater than any other. It has been considered that the duties of the subsistence and pay departments might be confided to the quartermaster's department without materially adding to the responsibility of the latter. Although this would answer in time of peace, it is not so clear whether it would not produce confusion in time of war.

The medical corps, having peculiar duties, is constituted differently from the other corps of the army. The officers are required to pass a rigid examination before being admitted,

and are again examined before they are promoted to a higher grade. It would be difficult to suggest anything in which this corps could be improved; a more high-toned and talented body of officers cannot exist in this or any other country.

The staff corps of the army are the engineers, topographical engineers, and the ordnance corps. These corps are officered exclusively from graduates of West Point; those cadets being selected who have most highly distinguished themselves in the scientific branches there taught. The engineer corps is principally engaged in the construction of fortifications. By law the officers are liable to be assigned to any other duty, civil or military, at the discretion of the President. Hence they are sometimes engaged in the construction of public buildings, the improvement of rivers and harbors, and other engineering works. The proper location and construction of fortifications requires an extensive study of military and scientific subjects, so that we find in this corps a high state of military proficiency. The duties of the topographical engineers are principally confided to military surveys and reconnoissances. They are, however, frequently employed on civil works. To the labors of this corps we are indebted for a vast amount of geographical and scientific information.

To the ordnance corps we are indebted for the efficient state of our ordnance. To a high scientific training they unite an ardent zeal, and though we have been for some years at peace we are not behind the nations of Europe in our materiel of war.

The question as to the right of staff officers to command has never been clearly decided. The principle that no officer is subject to the orders of a junior is clearly laid down, but it is denied that a staff officer can command a line officer. The term "line officer" is generally understood in our service to mean an officer of the cavalry, artillery, or infantry. The question has been argued with much talent on both sides; and though in special instances the question of command has been decided, the deciding power has generally avoided the main question. It can only be decided by legislative enactment, which need not be guided by preceding laws, but simply by the consideration of the question as to whether staff officers ought to be allowed to command.

The duties which are now performed by the administrative and staff corps were originally performed by civilians who had no military rank whatever. The proper performance of certain of these duties required information such as is only possessed by military men, and hence officers with special qualifications

were selected to perform them. In the case of other duties which did not require any special military experience, but which were equally necessary to a proper administration, it was found necessary to confer upon the persons performing them a military rank in order to give them a position which the importance of their services demanded. Some of the administrative duties are essentially military, and others are essentially civil; hence it is difficult to draw the line of distinction. It would seem proper that those officers who have had a certain amount of military experience, and who are, by the nature of their service, constantly kept familiar with military operations, should be entitled to command, while those whose duties are purely civil should be excluded. A knowledge of staff duty is just as essential in a commander as a knowledge of tactics, and the best commander is he who is familiar with both. By excluding all staff officers from command many of our most able officers are kept in an inferior position. Wherever there is military rank, that rank should confer all the rights pertaining to the grade, or else it should be merely nominal, indicating the importance attached to certain positions.

Though nominally at peace, our troops are nearly always engaged in hostile operations. The extent of the Indian country renders it difficult to display, at any one point, a force of sufficient size to give the Indians an adequate idea of our strength, and the result frequently is that no sooner are our troops withdrawn than they again resume their acts of murder and pillage, and hostilities have to be recommenced. There is little doubt that the mere presence of a large force in the Indian country would have a great effect in keeping the Indians quiet. They have no idea of our strength. Accustomed to see small detachments of troops or parties of defenceless emigrants, they form their opinion from what they see, and will not believe the reports of their own people who have visited the Atlantic cities. It is said of a Sioux chief that, being asked why his people made war upon the whites, he replied, "so many pale faces have gone to the setting, that very few can be left, and we think we can whip all that remain." The effect produced on the Indians by the display of large bodies of troops is well illustrated by the results of Colonel Wright's campaign against the Indians of Washington Territory in the summer and fall of 1858. He commanded a force of over 600 men, well armed and equipped, drove the Indians, who were assembled in large number, from their chosen position, and gave them a lesson from the effects of which they have not yet re-

covered. Since that time small parties of white men and even individuals have passed through their country without molestation. They deem it folly again to incense a power which can bring against them so large a force, and with weapons of unlimited range, and which marches directly to its object regardless of the presence of the foe.

Campaigning against the Indians is one of the most trying species of warfare, and the services of our army cannot be too highly appreciated. Long and difficult marches in the wilderness with no guide but the compass, exposure to the rigors of a severe climate, deprivation of all the comforts of civilized life, and everything that renders war repulsive, are endured by our troops without complaint. It is a different thing from the marches of large armies in the midst of civilization with the excitement of an approaching conflict with a civilized foe when glory awaits the efforts of the brave. Indian battles are very unsatisfactory affairs. Though involving more difficulty and all the dangers of regular warfare, the reward of success is very trifling. A notice in general orders and a few lines in the newspapers end the matter. There is no army in the world that, in proprotion to its numbers, performs as great an amount of actual service as ours. In the words of the Secretary of War, in his report of 1859, "the army has work to do which might employ usefully and actively five times its numerical force." The chance of foreign wars the army grasps at with eagerness, considered merely as a temporary relief from more arduous and unsatisfactory service.

In respect to personnel and materiel our army compares favorably with the armies of Europe. Its officers are as well if not better educated than those of any army in the world, and the troops, though not as good a class of men as might be desired, are, physically, all that can be wished. The arms and accoutrements are of the most improved pattern. Every foot soldier has a rifled musket, and each trooper is armed with a Sharpe's carbine or a rifle, a Colt's pistol, and a sabre. The clothing is of the best quality for comfort and durability. The uniform of the troops is by no means showy, and if it errs at all, it is on the side of plainness. There is no doubt that a showy uniform has considerable to do in making a good soldier, but on account of our peculiar service the present dress is perhaps the best that could be devised.

The army is supplied with the Sibley tent, which is an admirable institution. A fire can be kindled in the tent, and men made comfortable in the most severe weather. Our troops in Utah wintered in these tents. Everything that pertains to the

materiel of the army is of the best quality, and every improvement that can tend to increase its efficiency in this particular is immediately adopted by the War Department. In the matter of instruction the army has kept up with the times as far as the nature of its service will admit. Being kept in active service during a great portion of the year, and much engaged in the labor necessary to sustain military posts on the frontier, as much progress has not been made as could be wished. The introduction of improved fire-arms has involved the necessity of carefully instructing each soldier in the use of his weapon. With the old smooth-bored musket, which was only efficient at short distances, accuracy of aim was, in a great measure, disregarded, and indeed the excitement arising from such close quarters interfered very much with the ability of the soldier to aim correctly. After one or two volleys the hostile forces would come into collision, and the result be determined by the bayonet. With the long-ranged rifle, however, a different state of things arises. The extreme range being a thousand yards, a great deal of fighting takes place at a distance. But in order that the firing may be efficient, accuracy of aim becomes necessary, as at such ranges a slight change in the elevation of the piece produces considerable variation in the range. The European method of instruction in rifle firing has been adopted. It has been compiled in a small manual by Captain Heth, of the 10th infantry

Our troops are also instructed in the use of the bayonet, the great umpire of the battle-field, notwithstanding the improved fire-arms. Instruction in gymnastics has not yet been introduced in our service, but there is little doubt that it soon will be, as the good effects of such training has been demonstrated by the increased efficiency of the French troops. It is this that has made the name of Zouave a "terror to the foe." The benefit of this improved sytem of instruction is seen in its moral as well as physical effects; it teaches the soldier his own powers, and makes him individually as well as collectively efficient. The old idea that the soldier is a mere machine has been exploded, and each man is now recognized as an intelligent and active element in the military organization.

Until recently, instruction in artillery has been much neglected in our army, and the officers of artillery have felt that they were so merely in name. Secretary Floyd, however, has inaugurated a system which is calculated to give that arm its greatest efficiency at the least expense to the country, and at the same time retaining all the artillery troops in readiness for active service. To each artillery regiment are attached

two batteries of light artillery, each battery being manned by a company. Certain military posts are designated as artillery posts, and at each of these posts a battery is stationed, and as many other artillery companies as the necessities of the service will admit; they all constitute a school of practice. Thus provision is made for instructing the entire artillery force in all that relates to light artillery, both practically and theoretically. At these schools theoretical instruction is also given in all that relates to artillery arm. In addition to this, an artillery school has been established at Fort Monroe, Va., where thorough practical instruction is given in heavy artillery and pyrotechnics, besides a more thorough theoretical course in everything that pertains to the subject of artillery and fire-arms of all descriptions.

Instruction is also afforded in all military subjects. Eight companies are stationed at this school, two from each regiment; each company remaining two years, when it is relieved by another of the same regiment. Thus every six years the entire force of artillery has passed through the principal school, and the knowledge thus gained is kept fresh by constant study of the same subjects at the smaller schools. In light artillery the same facility of instruction is afforded. It would be difficult to devise a more simple and effectual means of securing a higher state of efficiency than this; since, in addition to all, the advantages of occasional active service are retained. The objects here attained are, first, that of always having a large body of troops familiar with the service of light artillery, an arm of the service which we cannot depend upon our citizen soldiery to supply; secondly, keeping up a thorough knowledge of their profession among all the artillery officers. For the service of fixed batteries, we can depend on the militia, since the mere operations of loading, arming, and firing a gun are very simple and easily taught.

The cavalry arm of our service consists of five regiments, two of which are called dragoons, two cavalry, and one rifles. The dragoons and cavalry differ merely in name. The rifles, however, as their name indicates, are armed with the rifle, while the others have the carbine. This is our most efficient arm in operations against the Indians, and for this reason the mounted troops are kept almost constantly in the field. The cavalry service is much more arduous than that of the infantry. A new system of cavalry tactics has recently been introduced, the object being, in accordance with the progress of the military art, to individualize each soldier, and make him individually, as well as collectively, responsible. An objection has

been made to the use of regular troops on our frontier, on the ground that the men who enlist in our army are not adapted to that kind of service. The recruiting stations are principally in cities, and the recruits are either foreigners or Americans who have never been outside of civilization, and a long time is necessary to accustom them to the Indian mode of warfare. It has been found, however, by experience that the employment of volunteers involves a much greater expense than that of regulars, and for this reason they have only been employed in cases of emergency. This difficulty is met by the modification of our cavalry arms suggested by the Secretary of War in his last report, in which it is proposed to enlist men for the mounted corps for a term of six months, these men being required to furnish their own horses. By this means a class of men would be obtained accustomed to the saddle and the use of fire-arms, and familiar with frontier life. They would require very little instruction, as the tactical manœuvres in Indian battles are exceedingly simple. Each man is required to fight for himself, and for this the men who have been raised upon our frontier are eminently qualified. It is always possible to enlist this class of men for a single campaign, as has been shown in Florida, Texas, and Oregon, though they would never agree to serve a continuous term of five years. Give them brave and intelligent officers, and they make the most efficient troops for a guerilla warfare.

The military laws of the United States are in a very unsatisfactory condition. They extend back to the formation of our government, and form a series of disconnected enactments which give rise to endless controversies. Many of the military laws still remain on the statute-book as dead letters, their violation having passed into a custom, on the general principle that all laws which are not supported by the common sentiment are practically void. Many of the articles of war are of this character. These laws are based on the similar laws relating to the British military service, and being manifestly unsuited to our present condition, are totally ignored. Others are still enforced, though the general sentiment is opposed to them. Many questions, which could be settled by a simple enactment, are still left open and give rise to continued misunderstandings. In the progress of time, the original signification of words is lost, and the literal enforcement of old laws produces consequences entirely foreign to the intention of the legislators. A rearrangement and modification of our military laws is extremely necessary to the welfare of the service. The only tribunal known to the military law is a

court-martial, composed of commissioned officers. Courts-martial arise from the necessities of war, where an expeditious mode of punishing an offender is the great desideratum. The nature of offences which generally come under the notice of courts-martial, in time of war, is such that it is probably the best, and indeed the only, way that justice can be speedily administered. The facts are generally few and the evidence direct, and the decision of the court is influenced by the probable effect of its sentence upon the success of military operations. In time of peace, however, the case is entirely different, and the results of courts-martial in many instances have raised the question in the minds of some as to whether they are proper tribunals.

Each member of a court-martial is both judge and juror, and the proper exercise of these functions supposes not only a conscientious desire to do right, but profound legal knowledge. It is impossible that such knowledge should generally exist, and it is well known that, with few exceptions, all that our officers know of the duties and practice of courts-martial is what they have learned by actual attendance on courts.

Questions of great intricacy often arise during the progress of trials; the nicest points have to be decided, and they require as much legal knowledge for their decision as exists in the country. Members of courts-martial are frequently not only ignorant of the general principles of law, but they are often unacquainted with actual decisions on record. The findings of courts-martial are sometimes in direct opposition to positive decision from the highest authority. The uncertainty of courts-martial is well known. Much depends upon the character of the members and upon external circumstances, which, legally speaking, have nothing to do with the case in point. The decisions of different courts on similar cases are widely different, and there is, in general, a degree of uncertainty about the results of courts-martial, which renders them highly unsatisfactory as tribunals of justice. Those who have not had experience in the proceedings of courts-martial can form an idea of how much dependence is to be placed in them by reading the proceedings of general courts-martial for the last few years, and the reviews of the findings and sentences by the Secretary of War.

Our information on military subjects has been chiefly derived from European authors. Very few works have issued from the hands of our officers. This would excite surprise considering the high attainments of many of our officers, were it not recollected that very few inducements have been offered to

such efforts. A change has recently been effected in this particular, and the encouragement offered by the Secretary of War has induced officers to present their views to the public, and to collect information on military subjects in an available form. Within the last few years several very creditable works have appeared on fortification, artillery, tactics, and other branches of military science. The present administration will hereafter be looked upon as an era in our military history, when a fresh impulse was given to every department of the service. New ideas are prevailing on the subject of fortification; our artillery arm has resumed its proper importance in the military organization; important improvements have been effected in our small arms and all the materiel of war; an improved tactics has been introduced; the Military Academy has been improved, and almost every change has been introduced which is calculated to keep us on a par, in military matters, with the nations of the Old World.

Although our great dependence in time of war is in the patriotism and bravery of our citizen soldiery, the necessity of a certain proportion of regular troops is apparent from our own history. In the revolutionary war, our troops were at first no match for the disciplined forces of England in the open field; it was not till they had become veterans by the deadly discipline of the battle-field that they achieved the victories which secured our independence.

In the Mexican war, the victories of Taylor, whose army was composed principally of volunteers, were purchased at a frightful expenditure of blood, due in a great measure to the want of discipline of the troops. And what would have been the result of that expedition, but for the trained batteries and squadrons of the regular army? The taking of Vera Cruz and the march upon the city of Mexico illustrates, in a striking manner, the efficiency of regular troops, and the necessity of educated officers, whose duties and studies keep them constantly familiar with all the details of their profession. A moderately-sized standing army, kept in the highest state of efficiency, is, with our navy, one of the cheapest and most certain means of insuring the respect of foreign powers, and maintaining peace and union at home.

ON SEEING A DEER TAKEN BY HIS HUNTERS

Great lord of the desert, they bore thee away
From thy floods and thy forests a captive and prey.
No more in thy pride wilt thou tread the green ground
Of thy beautiful valleys, unchained and unbound—
No more on the mountains that fostered thy birth,
Where the torrent has music, the tempest has mirth,
Wilt thou roam, like a creature disdainful of earth—
No more wilt thou bound like a barb o'er the brake,
Nor behold thy tall brow in the depth of the lake.—
No more!—and I sighed to behold the strong son
Of the desert in chains, and his glory thus run.

Swift son of the solitude! where was the steed
Could rival thy sinews in strength and in speed?
Yes, where was the hot-blooded courser could flee
Thro' the fir-woven depth of the thicket with thee?
How large was the breadth of thy far-sweeping bound
When the tumult came onward of hunter and hound;
When the thunder and shouting rolled fresh on thy track
With the strong-throated cry of the far-scented pack?
But fleet as the air-woven wings of the wind
Thou dash'd on, where each hill like a Titan reclined,
Leaving all but the light-footed echoes behind.

With the roar of a cataract up thro' the glen
Swept the strong sounding tumult of voices again,
Like the winds of the sky, like the waves of the sea
When the tempest is strongest, they shouted for thee—
But where was the monarch? Aloft, on a rock,
Dreadless and daring he heard the wild shock.
Nearer, when opened the hound and halloo,
And the ring of the bugle that brazenly blew,
Through the arch of the torrent like lightning he flew—
O'er the crag—o'er the cliff—thro' the forest and flood—
O'er the swamp and the brake—to his home in the wood.
He is gone—and the bay is in vain for his blood.

Red ranger of deserts! I saw thee again;
I saw thee with pride not unmingled with pain;
I saw thee once more at the close of the day,
Like the Roman of old, standing nobly at bay—
Like the hero in front of his last native altars,
Whose cheek never blanches, whose step never falters;
Like the last of a nation, for all he loved well,
Thou didst wait for the foe in the gorge of the dell;
But vain was the contest—oppressed and a prey—
From thy long-cherished mountains they bore thee away.

Alas! what a change. In the morning you flew,
As fleet and as free as the bolt through the blue,
O'er the myriad of hills ere the orb of the sun
His fretwork of beams o'er the firmament spun
And the course of the grey-coated twilight was run;
With a hurricane fleetness far on didst thou sweep,
Calling up in thy flight o'er the stream and the steep
The daughters of sound from their silence and sleep—
So princely and proud in the morning thy tread,
But, alas! in the evening that glory was fled—
'Tis the fate of the brave, when all valor is vain,
And the tyrant is strongest, to sink in his chain.

QUARTERLY SYNOPSIS OF OUR FOREIGN COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.

JAPAN.

The arrival and temporary sojourn at the national metropolis of the Japanese embassy has naturally attracted the attention of the whole country, but more particularly of the mercantile classes, to the vast and hitherto almost unknown empire from which these distinguished strangers are accredited to our government. We propose, therefore, in the opening pages of our quarterly synopsis to present such information on this interesting subject as we have been enabled to gather from official and other reliable sources. Properly speaking, Japan is an island empire, comprising three large mountainous and volcanic islands called Niphon, Kiusiu, and Sikok, together with numerous smaller islands, the principal of which are Sado, Tsousima, Awadsi, Tanegasima, Yakesima, and Osima, with several minor groups, all constituting Japan proper. The large island of Yesso, north of Niphon, with the south half of the island of Tarakai and the southern Kurile islands from the dependency called the principality of Matsumae. The area of Japan proper embraces 116,405 square miles, and of the dependencies, 47,312 square miles, making the total area of the Japanese empire and dependencies 163,717 square miles. The population is variously estimated, but the best authorities place it at about 50,000,000. The most important towns of the empire are, on Niphon, Jeddo, Mijako, &c.; on Kiusiu, Nangasaki, Saga, Kokura, &c.; on Sikok, Simoda, Kotsi, Takamutsi, &c.; and on Yesso, Hakodade, Matsumae, &c.

A system of sumptuary laws has been known long to exist in Japan, under which agriculture is compulsory, and regulated by local directors who enforce a rigid discipline in their different superintendencies. The interior of the country is, however, represented to be, in many parts, very sterile; but it is known that hemp, cotton, rice, and every variety of cereals are extensively and successfully cultivated. Indeed, Japanese rice, which is, by the way, the principal food of the people, is acknowledged to be the best grown in all Asia; and this fact will, when the empire is opened to foreign trade, produce a marked influence on the leading export staple of the British East India dependency of Akyab. Rice, it is true, is also one of our own staples, but it holds quite an inferior rank among our exports to foreign countries, the quantity exported in 1859 exceeding only a little over two million dollars in value. The mulberry tree is an object of great attention, and grows in its highest state of perfection, dispensing food to myriads of silkworms. Hence, the greatest skill is exhibited in their various manufactures of silk goods, a fact sufficiently well attested by the rich and showy garments of that material worn by the princes on their official visit to the President of the United States. In several branches of handicraft, especially their carving in wood, pearl, ivory, and fish-bone, the Japanese are unrivalled; indeed, we have examined some specimens exhibited to us since their arrival in Washington, which we think would baffle the imitative powers of our own most ingenious artists.

Prior to the treaties recently concluded between Japan and foreign powers, all intercourse between the Japanese and foreigners was strictly forbidden by their laws. The only exceptions, and those to a very limited degree, were certain privileges conceded to the Chinese and Dutch at the port of Nangasaki, the former being permitted to send to that port four junks, and the latter two vessels annually for purposes of trade. The Chinese imported broadcloths and woollen stuffs, and carried back, in exchange, lacquered wares, copper and other produce and manufactures; the trade with the Dutch consisting of spices, ivory, iron bars, quicksilver, glass wares, sugar, piece goods, woollens, &c., in exchange for copper, camphor, silk, and lacquered goods, wax, pitch, wheat, and Japanese manufactures.

The Portuguese, it appears, were the first Europeans who founded a settlement in the empire and established trade with the Japanese. Amid the various and often conflicting statements give by the early writers on Japan, it is difficult to arrive

at any certain knowledge in regard to the first settlement of the Portuguese merchants in the empire, but the following account seems to have the greatest weight of authority. In 1542, Fernando Mondez Pinto, a Portuguese, embarked in a junk from Macao to the Loo-Chew islands, but encountering adverse winds, he was driven to one of the western islands of the Japanese archipelago. About the same period, the celebrated Jesuit missionary Xavier arrived at Goa on his way to China, which empire, and not Japan, as many erroneously suppose, was the intended theatre of his missionary labors. A curious incident changed his course to the shores of Japan. A Japanese, named Anger, hearing from some of the Portuguese traders of the strange "bonze" who had arrived at Goa, secretly embarked for that place, but on his arrival learned that Xavier had gone to Malacca. Thither he followed him, and after a few visits became an ardent convert to Christianity. Xavier baptised him by the name of Paul de St. Foi, and after two years had elapsed accompanied him back to his native country. We advert to this incident because whatever influence the Portuguese had gained in their commercial intercourse with the Japanese was owing, in a great measure, if not altogether, to the high favor in which the Jesuit missionaries soon established themselves at the courts of several of the native princes. This intercourse continued uninterrupted for upwards of forty years, when, owing to the jealousy of the Dutch merchants who, at first, were merely tolerated, but gradually managed to supplant their rivals, an edict was issued permitting the Portuguese to continue their trade as before, but forbidding them to bring any more missionaries, or even to speak on religious subjects. This success emboldened the Dutch merchants in their efforts to drive the Portuguese altogether out of the trade with Japan, until, in 1635, under the reign of Yete Mitson, a kind of prison was constructed off Nangasaki, in which were collected all the Portuguese found in the country. The commercial privileges which they had so long enjoyed were immediately transferred to the Dutch, who, it was generally believed, were the instigators of the severe measures put in force against their old rivals. However this may be, the Portuguese themselves charged their misfortunes on the Dutch, and a sanguinary battle between the Portuguese and native Christians, amounting to 38,000 men on the one side, and the Dutch, with such of the natives as sympathized with them in their hostility to the Portuguese, on the other, was the result of these rigorous measures. The former fortified themselves in Simabara, and the latter made their attack under the command of the Dutch director, Kocke-

becker. The fortress was soon reduced, and the Portuguese, rather than submit to their rivals, to whom they attributed all that had befallen them, perished to a man. Immediately after this sanguinary battle, an edict was published forbidding the Portuguese ever to enter the country.

The intelligence of these proceedings soon reached Macao, (the metropolis of the Portuguese settlements in the East,) and four of the most distinguished citizens were sent to inquire into their truth and conciliate the favor of the government of Japan. They arrived at Nangasaki in 1640, and were immediately put under arrest and condemned to death. The following inscription, written, it is said, by Kockebecker, was placed over their grave:

"So long as the sun shall warm the earth let no Christians be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian God, or the Xaca, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head."

About this period the ceremony of the "Jesumi, or trampling on the cross," was instituted. The name is a corruption of "Jesus and Mary," words which had always formed the rallying cry of the Jesuit missionaries and their converts; and the ceremony consisted in trampling under foot a crucifix or image of the Madonna, which at first was carried from house to house by officers appointed for that purpose. Such an act was considered equivalent to a recantation, and death was the portion of those who should refuse compliance.

In a work entitled "Notes of the Voyage of the Morrison from Canton to Japan," published in 1839, the following reference to the Dutch trade, at this period, is to be found. "The Dutch were now left in sole possession of the trade with Japan, and since that time, it is well known, their monopoly has never been disturbed. The subsequent political intercourse has been limited to an occasional mission from Batavia, and the visits of the Dutch chief of the factory to Yedo, formerly made annually, but now only once in four years. Charlevoix mentions embassies in 1664, 1656, and 1659. It was while the second of these missions was at Yedo that two-thirds of that city and one hundred thousand of its population were destroyed by fire. It remains briefly to trace the use the Dutch have made of the monopoly to which they have so long aspired."

"Of the assortment and value of their import cargoes in the 17th century, we have little or no account. Their returns had been in silver chiefly until 1641, when the directors of the company suggested returns in gold. Japanese copper was at this time in little estimation in Europe, because little known,

but afterwards, on a rise in value, it became an important return. The first order for twenty thousand piculs was sent out in 1655."

The profits realized by the Dutch from this trade have never been accurately ascertained. The author already cited, referring to the restrictions imposed by the Japanese government, remarks, "under these circumstances, the trade which had yielded an annual profit of five to six hundred thousand florins for the thirty years previous to 1714, would no longer pay the charges."

The religious as well as the commercial intercourse of European nations with Japan suggests one important lesson which it would be well for modern Christian nations in again opening up this great empire to foreigners and foreign trade to heed. The Japanese are a peculiar people. Intelligent, quick, hospitable, but eminently jealous of strangers. Suicide is regarded as the highest evidence of heroic courage, and riches and the pleasures which they bestow are reckoned among the greatest virtues. They look up to their bonzes or priests as oracles of wisdom, and reverence them as the only true expounders of religious belief. To these privileged classes, and the severe virtues enjoined by Christianity, perhaps as much as to Dutch rivalry, were the misfortunes of the Portuguese and the persecution of their faith to be attributed. The Japanese of to-day are the Japanese of 1640. They are ever willing to exchange their manufactures, and gold, and silver, and inimitable lacquered ware for the almighty dollar or its equivalent, and in that sort of trade we will put the universal Yankee against the subject or citizen of any nation on the globe. Let us not meddle with their religious notions, or interfere in any manner with their bonzes and temples. Commerce and the intercourse which ever follows in its train will, in the good order of Providence, introduce Christian civilization, and with it the blessings of Christian revelation. But let us not endanger, by premature zeal, the incipient diplomacy which already promises the most happy results, and will ultimately accomplish for the Japanese empire whatever of religious amelioration God may have in store for them. This is the view, doubtless, that was taken of the matter by the distinguished officer who has the Japanese embassy in charge in this city in refusing to comply with the request of several ministers of churches here to conduct the embassy to their places of worship; and this view is founded on experience, and is in accordance with the soundest dogmas of Christian philosophy. We have made

a favorable impression both on the Japanese government and its accredited embassy. Let it be improved, not jeoparded.

Before presenting our commercial readers with an official list of the imports and exports of Japan, we deem the following extract from a memorial prepared in 1855, by Aaron Haight Palmer, esq., of this city, (Senate Mis. Doc. No. 10, 33d Cong., 2d sess.,) interesting and instructive. It accounts, according to the opinions of the writer, for the exclusive policy of Japan in so long shutting out the commerce and the intercourse of foreign nations; and it is due to truth to add that we know of no other American citizen to whom we are, in this country, more indebted than to Mr. Palmer for whatever knowledge of Japan, Siam, Cochin-China, and other eastern countries, we possess. He has devoted himself most zealously and assiduously during the last twenty years to the subject, and has had the advantages of a corps of well-informed correspondents in the various countries of the East wherever the American flag has been seen or may hereafter penetrate.

"The city of Yedo is situated on a large plain, on the eastern coast of the island of Niphon, in latitude thirty-six degrees thirty-nine minutes north, and longitude one hundred and forty degrees east. It lies in the form of a crescent, around the bay of the same name, at the mouth of one of the largest rivers of the island. The circumference of the city is said to be over fifty miles, and its population is estimated at upwards of two millions. It contains the residences of the princes and great lords, who are compelled to reside there half the year. None of their mansions are more than two stories high, and most of them only one story, of a simple style of architecture, and generally surrounded by wide enclosed courts and extensive gardens.

"The palace, or residence of the Seogoon, is built of freestone, and is encompassed by a wall said to be fifteen miles in circumference, including a wide interior area, occupied by the spacious mansions of the princes and other high ministers of his court. The palace contains a great apartment called 'The Hall of Hundred Mats,' brilliantly adorned by pillars of cedar, painted walls, and gilded ceilings. In this hall the presents brought by the Dutch mission for the imperial court are displayed; and it is here the envoy is admitted to a brief audience with the Seogoon and the grand dignitaries of the empire.

"After being compelled to make many degrading obeisances, to crawl on his hands and knees to a place shown him between the presents arrayed in due form on one side, and the place where the Seogoon sits on the other, and then kneeling he

bows his forehead to the ground and retires, crawling backwards, without being permitted to look up or utter a single word. On some occasions, the envoy and his suite have been required to dance, sing, play on musical instruments, and practice buffoonery, for the amusement of the Seogoon and his court.

"Such degrading acts of homage and submission, together with the servile obsequiousness of the Dutch residents to the Japanese officials, on all occasions, for upwards of two hundred years, with the object of maintaining their paltry trade at Dezima, have inspired the court of Yedo with a profound contempt for foreigners of the western nations. This will, in a great measure, account for the invariable assumption of its haughty and arrogant bearing towards strangers who have visited the country, as well as for its barbarous treatment of shipwrecked mariners."

In conclusion, we give for the benefit of those of our enterprising fellow-citizens who may engage, or have already embarked, in the Japanese trade, the following official list of imports suitable for that market, and of the exports which at this time may be supplied in the return trade. The present import duty is also added:

Articles of export from Japan.

Vegetable wax, beeswax, camphor, rape seed, rape seed oil, copper in sheets, soermé (dried fish,) dried shrimps, "tayso" (green seaweed,) coals, lacquered ware, porcelain ware, white rice, uncleaned rice, wheat, raw and manufactured silks.

Imports suitable for Japan.

Chintzes, fast colors; chintzes, Turkey-red; Turkey, plain cloth; chintzes, 2. 3. *a* 4 colors; drills and jeans, (American;) cotton velvets; madapolsaml bleached, 40 inches; Turkey-red handkerchiefs; fine broadcloth; Dutch camlets; molton blankets; sapanwood, Manila; ratans; Dutch and Chinese medicines; rhubarb; timekeepers; percussion guns, newest invention; percussion caps; pistols; fine gunpowder; assorted glassware, medium quality; looking-glasses; English soap; olive oil; nautical instruments; thermometers; barometers; iron chests; rhinoceros's horns; hippopotamus's horns, hippopotamus's hides.

Present import duty 30 per cent. on the amount for which all goods are sold.

CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

We cannot present anything of greater interest to our mercantile readers, North as well as South, than the following extracts which we are permitted to make from the forthcoming annual report of the Secretary of State on Foreign Commerce for 1859.

COTTON IN ASIA.

I have the honor to enclose you a pamphlet on the subject of the culture of cotton, published by an association of Manchester, which has an agent here endeavoring to introduce a superior cultivation of cotton in Asia-Minor, where it already grows. The seeds which this association has distributed in this view have been procured in the United States.

In connexion with the plans of this association, the following details on the subject of the qualities and quantities of cotton produced in the Ottoman empire, which I believe are correct, may not be without interest.

Egypt is the province of the Ottoman empire which produces the greatest quantity of cotton. The late governor general, or, as he was called, the "viceroy" of Egypt, greatly increased the cultivation during his administration. The produce amounts to 80,000 bales, or some 26,750,000 of pounds. In 1857 the one port of Alexandria alone exported about 55,000,000 pounds, worth $4,250,000.

In Thessaly cotton is cultivated in the vicinity of Larissa, and covers only some 500 acres. About 200 or 250 okes (of $2\frac{3}{4}$ pounds each) are believed to be the produce of an acre, making a crop of 500,000 or 600,000 okes. The greater part of the crop is used in that province for lamp-wicks and coarse clothing for the peasantry. Ten thousand okes are sold in this place and exported to Constantinople and Trieste, at 8 or 9 piasters (3 cents each) per oke. Volo is the port of exportation.

In Macedonia, the district in which cotton is mostly cultivated in Zekhua and Serres, about 10,000 acres are grown. Each acre contains 2,500 plants, and produces $149\frac{3}{4}$ pounds. The total crop of Macedonia amounts to 2,500,000 okes, one-half of which is consumed in Turkey or the Danubian provinces, and the rest is exported to Trieste or Odessa, and the price varies between 6 and 7 piasters the oke. The ports are Salonica and Canalla.

Cotton is planted about the first of May, in a soft soil, and

is gathered in the middle of September. The gathering is repeated three or four times. The first two comprises the ripe and dry pod, and the last two those which are green and need to be dried in the sun. The quantity is very inferior, and is called red cotton. The cultivation is expensive and difficult. The cleansing is very imperfect, and requires much work of hand. So soon as the pod opens the collecting commences; the cotton is then passed through a wooden riddle, which detaches the seed from the cotton, and this is next passed between wheels called tchikrik.

In Asiatic Turkey cotton is cultivated in all of the coast from Smyrna to Jaffa, and in the interior from Cesaria as far as the Euphrates, Dibekir and Bagdad. It is difficult to learn correctly the quantities produced in these countries. It is said to diminish annually on account of the decrease of the population and the general misery of the inhabitants, as also from the attention given to other plants, which leave a greater profit, such as sesame. The cultivation of cotton in Egypt and the United States has been a severe blow to that of Anadoli or Natolia.

In Asia-Minor the cotton has already been very active, and amounts to some 50,000 bales, of which one-fourth is consumed in the country. The rest is sent to Marseilles, Trieste, London, and Amsterdam. The crops now scarcely amount to 25,000 bales, one-half of which is consumed in the interior, and the remainder exported at 700 piasters the quintal, or 126 pounds avoirdupois.

In the province of Tarsoos, the crop is annually about a million of okes, but the cultivation of sesame is taking its place. It is exported to Russia and Turkey in Europe whenever the crop of the United States fails, which, however, is rarely the case; and for some six years past considerable shipments are made to Marseilles, Leghorn, Trieste, and Genoa, at four and five piasters per oke. The best quality, called *Vavri*, is not much exported on account of its high price, and the second, called Kayi, is sold for European consumption. In Syria, at Sayda and Jaffa, cotton, in the last ten years, has been forsaken, in a great measure, for sesame; but at Damascus, Napolous, and St. John's d'Acre, cotton is still much raised. In the vicinity of the last-named city cotton is grown in more than 300 villages. The crop of this province is very considerable, and amounts to seven or eight millions of okes, of which about five millions are exported at from five to six piasters the oke. The mode of culture in Asia is the same as in Macedonia, only that it is planted in May and gathered in November. The means they use for cleansing it are very imperfect.

The cotton is purchased at the places of production, from whence it is conveyed to the ports—those of Tarsus, Beyroot, and Smyrna, are those from which it is mostly exported. The fairs of Coisana and Dioobekir collect the crops of the interior. The exportations from Smyrna amounted, in 1857, to two and a fifth millions of pounds, valuing some 5,000,000 of piasters. The province of Turkey, which offers the greatest advantages for the culture of cotton, is the island of Cyprus. It has been cultivated there from a very remote period. In 1518 cotton was an important item of the export of that island, say some one and a half million of okes, or 30,000 bales. At the end of the eighteenth century it produced 8,000 bales, but since then more attention has been given to it. In 1836 cotton was the chief product of the island, and it exported to Europe some 2,000 bales. The cultivation in the United States, however, proved fatal to it. The crops still reach 500,000 okes, of which 400,000 are exported to Europe, and the rest used in the island in the manufacture of wicks and coarse clothing. The exportation is thus divided: to Marseilles, 1,000 to 2,000 bales; Trieste, 1,000 to 2,000 bales; Anadoly, 200 to 300 bales; Genoa and Leghorn, 150 to 300 bales.

The cotton of Cyprus is considered the best of Turkey, and is divided into three qualities:

No. 1, values 1,100 piasters the quintal of 180 okes, to which add 150 piasters as expenses to the first 1,250 piasters. It is produced in silicious soil, watered in summer, and is of a very white kind.

No. 2, values 1,070 piasters to 1,040 piasters, to which add 150 piasters to 180 piasters for expense to a port. It is a produce of a clayey soil, and the second picking is less carefully made than the first.

No. 3, values 980 piasters to 1,000 piasters+150 piasters—say 1,150 to a port—the produce also of a dry soil.

There are about 8,000 acres of land sown in cotton in the island of Cyprus. The inhabitants have acclimated their cotton from Ceylon. The seed is sown in May, and the crop is collected in October. It is believed that the quantity produced could be greatly increased if there were more means *of irrigation.* Grasshoppers destroy great quantities of the plants.

The whole amount of cotton raised in the Ottoman empire is 22,700,000 okes, or 47,110,000 lbs., valuing 176 millions of piasters, or $5,866,600; of this quantity, 5,700,000 okes are consumed in Turkey and about 16,700,000 exported, or one-fourth is for home consumption and three-fourths for foreign use.

JERUSALEM.

J. WARREN GORMAN, CONSUL.

JANUARY 19, 1859.

As there is no intercourse between this consular district and the United States, I have not deemed it necesssary to send any special report to the department. There is no harbor at Jaffa, and the anchorage is unsafe a great part of the time between the months of November and May.

The export trade ot Jaffa is insignificant, consisting of a small quantity of grain, sesame, and oranges, carried principally in French and Austrian vessels.

There can be no profitable commerce with Palestine until a safe harbor is made at Jaffa. The old harbor to the north of the city, which existed in the time of Solomon, is now filled with sand, and covered with orchards of orange trees. These orchards are valuable, and it would be necessary to purchase them before the old harbor could be excavated, which last could be easily done; but an expensive sea-wall would be necessary to protect the shipping from the southwest winds, which prevail with great violence during the six months above mentioned.

There is not the slightest prospect that this work will ever be undertaken by the Turkish government.

There is now some hope that a carriage road will be constructed from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The private company, under Austrian protection, has surveyed the route, and is now waiting for the sanction of the Porte to commence operations. There is no certainty, however, how long this sanction may be withheld. The project of railroad between Jaffa and Jerusalem has been abandoned.

The value of land and house-rent in and about Jerusalem and Jaffa has risen fourfold within the last four years. Christians can now hold real estate in their own names, but such property is unsafe except in the cities. The cultivation of farms is unprofitable, owing to the incursions of the Bedouin Arabs; and for the same reason life is insecure at even a short distance from the towns.

The fellahin, (peasants,) who cultivate wheat, barley, and doura, are oppressed by the exactions of government, and by the advantages taken of their poverty by the factors who purchase of them. It is folly to think of improving their condition until a government strong enough to keep the Bedouins in

check is instituted. They acknowledge no rulers but their own sheiks, who are constantly at war with each other, thus keeping the whole country in an unsettled state.

Necessary undertakings for agriculture must, for these reasons, necessarily labor under very great disadvantages, and, if the bad faith and utter want of honesty of the natives be taken into account, are almost hopeless.

The Russian government has lately initiated a consulate at Jerusalem on a very liberal scale. It has purchased much land, and is now erecting a spacious hospice for pilgrims, a residence for the bishop, and one for the consul, an hospital, and an academy and school for children. The Austrian government has nearly completed a magnificent hospice; those of the English and Prussians are already completed. The Jews have a new and elegant synagogue on Mount Zion. The magnificent establishments of the Greeks, Armenians, and Latins are well known.

There is no exchange on the United States. For exchanges on England, the sovereign is worth 119 piasters, or $4 76. The American dollar is worth 25 piasters. The wages of field laborers is from thirty to forty cents a day; of mechanics, fifty cents a day; servants, from eight to fifteen dollars a month.

Fare at hotels, three dollars a day. Expense of travelling, with dragoman, &c., about eight dollars per day. The expense of living has increased fourfold within the last four years. A rotal (six pounds and a half) of meat, which four years ago would have sold for five piasters, now costs twenty, and so in proportion with other articles.

THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO.

The continued depression of trade and commerce at the different ports of the Mexican republic, caused by the protracted civil war which has so long devastated this unhappy country, renders it extremely difficult for the best-informed correspondents to obtain such information as would convey any accurate idea in regard to the extent and character of its commercial movements. Agriculture and manufactures, and, consequently, trade and commerce, have been almost entirely suspended, and the laborers of the country, heretofore employed in their useful and enriching occupations, have been turned into the conflicts of war.

Vera Cruz is the great key to the commerce and trade of foreign nations with Mexico, and, consequently, is the point

where the most valuable information in relation to the commercial movements of the whole republic should be obtained; but, since the commencement of the civil war, no statistics or other information on this subject have been published. On the contrary, the custom-house and its employés persistently close the avenues to such information to all inquirers, so that it is impossible to ascertain even the amount of customs collected at the port within any given period. Notwithstanding these difficulties in the way of getting at the figures exhibiting the trade of the United States with this port, we have been enabled to procure the following official statements showing the imports from and exports to the United States for the year ending October 1, 1859:

Statement showing the description and value of imports into the United States from Vera Cruz to the United States from October 1, 1858, *to October* 1, 1859.

	Value.
Cochineal, 905 seroons, at $20 to $25	$141,435
Dry ox and cow hides, 29,534	77,115
Goat skins, 813 bales	54,878
Tobacco, 1,397 bales	35,928
Vanilla beans, 34 boxes	11,625
Deer skins, 42 bales	1,250
Jalap root, 66 bales	6,758
Sugars, 577 boxes	6,318
Coffee, 100 bags	2,150
Cigars, 52,000	762
Old iron, 140 tons	799
Specie to New York and New Orleans	981,362
Total exports from Vera Cruz	1,320,380

Statement showing the exports from the United States to Vera Cruz during the same period.

	Value.
Cotton, 31,560 half bales, at 17 cents per pound	$1,073,040
Flour, 7,780 barrels, at $16 per barrel	124,480
Rice, 962 tierces, at $42 per tierce	40,404
Lard, 936 tierces, at $50 per tierce	46,800
Lead, at 12 cents per cwt	1,535
Powder, 1,500 kegs	33,000
Muskets, 580, at $4 50	2,610
Corn, 718 sacks	2,870

Printing paper, 100 reams	$500
Potatoes, 41 barrels	328
Onions, 35 barrels	350
Gold	15,000
Total imports at Vera Cruz from United States	1,340,917
Add miscellaneous	700,000
Making in all	2,040,917

Statement showing the nationality and tonnage of vessels arriving at the port of Vera Cruz during the year ending October 1, 1859.

	Vessels.	Tons.
American	55	27,795
British	18	22,064
French	13	3,684
Spanish	17	
Hamburg	12	
Hanover	3	
Total	118	53,543

In all the industrial pursuits of Vera Cruz a complete stagnation is observed, and a consequent falling off of at least 75 per cent. as compared with years of more political quiet and general tranquillity. It is stated, in fact, on competent authority, that the year 1859 has evidenced an abandonment and prostration of the productive pursuits throughout the entire republic of Mexico never before experienced in the country. Even the invasion and conquest of Mexico by the American armies in 1847 had nothing like the destructive effects upon agriculture, manufactures, &c., that the civil war now raging there has brought upon this country. In the interior the devastating effects of this protracted contest are much more disastrous than on the coast. Haciendas are abandoned, ranchos deserted, and even whole villages pillaged and sacked, leaving nothing but desolation wherever the armies of the contending parties have made their tracks. Many of the most valuable and productive sugar, coffee, and grain plantations have gone to waste for the want of labor to cultivate them.

The only reliable information which it is possible to obtain as to the productions of Mexico during the year 1859 relates to

the article of cotton, which is set down at 20,000 bales, of 200 pounds each, worth, in the market of Vera Cruz, 17 to 18 cents per pound. The fact is now acknowledged by all well-informed persons throughout the republic that unless peace is restored to Mexico she must continue to degenerate; and there is but little hope that the people will ever be able to establish that peace and give reliable assurance to life, liberty, and property, without some foreign intervention, and all honest hearts in that country are turned to the United States of America for that intervention—the only salvation of Mexico. The President of the United States and his administration have done their duty in the premises; will Congress do theirs? Should Mexico ever fall under a European protectorate, posterity will hold President Buchanan blameless for so dire a result.

ALTERATIONS OF THE TIMBER DUTIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Since the reciprocity treaty between the United States and Great Britain in reference to our trade with the British North American provinces came into operation, the timber trade of some of our northern States, before that period quite extensive and employing a large amount of capital, has almost entirely disappeared. This is, doubtless, one of the unforeseen evils which have made this treaty so unpopular in many sections of the Union, and have led to the present inquiry by a Senate committee into its general effects upon our trade and commerce with these provinces. Under the British tariff a discrimination in favor of timber or wood of and from British possessions is recognized, which, were it not for the heavy expenses of inland transportation before reaching Quebec, would virtually preclude all competition in the markets of Great Britain on the part of our citizens. For example, while a cargo of timber or wood from Portland, Maine, would be subjected to a duty of 7*s.* 6*d.* ($1 80) per load of fifty cubic feet, the same kind of timber or wood of and from British possessions would pay only 1*s.* (24 cents) on the same quantity. Timber being free under the reciprocity treaty, it has been the practice of the shippers in the neighboring provinces to make Portland a sort of entrepot, whence it is reshipped to England and admitted at the low duty of twenty-four cents per load, while the American shipper of the same kind of timber, from the same port, has to pay $1 80 per load. Hence the entire cessation of the American trade the past few years.

It is, therefore, gratifying to us to be able to announce that this unjust discrimination no longer exists. The discriminative duty has, on the recommendation of the chancellor of the exchequer, been altogether repealed, and the low duty retained, irrespective of origin. We give below the present duties (to take effect when the act is officially announced) on all kinds of timber or wood imported into Great Britain from any part of the world:

Wood and timber, viz: timber or wood, not being deals, battens, boards, staves, handspikes, oars, lathwood, or other timber or wood sawn, split, or otherwise dressed, except hewn, and not being timber or wood otherwise charged with duty, the load of 50 cubic feet, 1*s.*; *of and from British possessions, the load of* 50 *cubic feet*, 1*s.;* deals, battens, boards, or other timber or wood, sawn or split, and not otherwise charged with duty, the load of 50 cubic feet, 2*s.*; *of and from British possessions, the load of* 50 *cubic feet*, 2*s.;* staves exceeding 72 inches in length, 7 inches in breadth, or $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in thickness, the load of 50 cubic feet, 2*sl. of and from British possessions, the load of* 50 *cubic feet*, 2*s.;* handspikes, not exceeding 7 feet in length, the 120, 6*d.; of and from British possessions, the* 120, 6*d.;* handspikes exceeding 7 feet in length, the 120, 1*s.*; *of and from British possessions, the* 120, 1*s.;* knees, under 5 inches square, the 120, 3*d.*; *of and from British possessions, the* 120, 3*d.;* knees, under 8 inches square, the 120, 1*s.*; *of and from British possessions, the* 120, 1*s.;* lathwood, the fathom of 216 cubic feet, 1*s.*; *of and from British possessions, the fathom of* 216 *cubic feet*, 1*s.;* oars, the 120, 3*s.* 9*d.*; *of and from British possessions, the* 120, 3*s.* 9*d.;* spars or poles, under 22 feet in length, and under 4 inches in diameter, the 120, 6*d.*; *of and from British possessions, the* 120, 6*d.;* spars or poles, 22 feet in length and upwards, and under 4 inches in diameter, the 120, 1*s.*; *of and from British possessions, the* 120, 1*s.;* spars and poles of all lengths, 4 and under 6 inches in diameter, the 120, 2*s.*; *of and from British possessions, the* 120, 2*s.*; spokes for wheels, not exceeding 2 feet in length, the 1,000, 1*s.*; *of and from British possessions, the* 1,000, 1*s.;* spokes for wheels, exceeding 2 feet in length, the 1,000, 2*s.*; *of and from British possessions, the* 1,000, 2*s.;* planed or otherwise dressed or prepared for use, and not particularly enumerated or otherwise charged with duty, for every £100 value, £5.; *of and from British possessions, for every* £100 *value;* £5.

These alterations will tend to revive this important branch of our foreign export trade, and remove one, at least, of the many serious objections urged by our citizens to the further continuance of the treaty referred to.

TOBACCO IN TURKEY.

E. S. OFFLEY, CONSUL.

SMYRNA, *August* 23, 1859.

The only tax that tobacco from the United States is subject to in this country is a custom-house duty of three per cent. in importing it and two per cent. internal duty—in all, five per cent. *ad valorem;* but as the value of tobacco has considerably risen since 1847, when the present tariff took effect, and as the duty is still assessed on the valuation that was set upon it at that time, it follows that instead of five it now pays less than three per cent., whilst the tobacco grown in this country is burdened with taxes amounting to over fifty per cent. on its average value of about eight to ten piasters per oke, or of twelve to fifteen cents per pound in United States currency and weight.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF HON. JACOB THOMPSON, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

The lives of distinguished men belong to their country. They are public property. We are justly proud of them, because they reflect honor on the national character, while they serve as examples to prove of what human nature, in its best estate, is capable. Many men live only in an ideal world,—that of their own thoughts and speculations; but those who have impressed their names on an age and elevated nations, have not only been acute and sturdy thinkers, but busy and successful actors on the great theatre of life. He who canvasses principles without illustrating their character by practical applications, is but half a man, being destitute of the moral force which is necessary to bring into being, and give substance, form, and proportion to what the mind clearly understands. An enthusiasm which is baffled by no obstacles, which regards the possible as attainable, and looks on nothing as impossible, is an essential element in all true greatness of character. Few men, in any age or country, have attained to such eminence; but when they have done so, society has been able to point them out as intellectual or political benefactors, and has rejoiced in the light they have shed on their elected sphere of operations.

The subject of the present sketch is one of those men, whose career deserves commemoration even before he has passed off the stage. If eloquence consists, as has been affirmed, in action, then his whole life has been eloquent, dedicated, as it has been, to the discharge of duties whose performance imparts to character not only dignity and independence, but grace. We shall, then, eschew eulogy, which, during the lifetime of the subject, might be deemed inappropriate, and shall confine ourselves to facts, which furnish the best commentary on genius, claims, and pretensions. Let Americans, and especially ambitious, youthful Americans, ponder on these facts, and diligently learn the lesson they are calculated to impart.

Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior during the able and brilliant administration of James Buchanan, and one of the most efficient members of his cabinet, was born in Caswell county, North Carolina, on the 15th day of May, A. D. 1810. In early life, he was distinguished by habits of application, and was equally indebted to industry and a felicitous genius for the readiness with which he acquired all kinds of useful knowledge; for the rank he obtained at the North Carolina University, where he graduated in 1831, with distinction, at the age of twenty-one years, and for his appointment, immediately thereafter, to the office of tutor in that time-honored institution, a situation which he filled, for the space of eighteen months, with equal honor to himself and advantage to the young gentlemen of his native State. Upon leaving this post, he turned his attention to the study of the law, under the direction of Judge Dick, of Greensborough; was admitted to the bar, and removing to Mississippi, soon rose to eminence in his profession, as well as to political distinction.

The portion of Mississippi to which he removed was a very fertile and attractive region. It had recently been purchased from the Chickasaw Indians, and was still occupied, to a considerable extent, by them. Here, in the character of an American pioneer and adventurer, our young barrister pitched his tent. The country filled up with unexampled rapidity, and he soon found himself, unexpectedly, at the head of an active and enterprising population. Numerous questions, arising out of the extinguishment of old and the acquisition of new titles to land, were submitted for his examination, and his legal ability and learning fully and successfully tested. Thus he did not, like most candidates for the honors and emoluments of his jealous profession, have to pass through a long novitiate before reaching the goal of his wishes, but, favored by circumstances, and gifted with the energy and sa-

gacity that enabled him to turn them to account, stepped, almost at once, into an extensive and lucrative practice.

It became necessary,—so rapid was the growth of the new settlement, and so justly exacting the character of its inhabitants,—to invest it with a political *status*, *i. e.*, to erect it into counties, which should form arteries of the larger body politic, the State; and when this object was accomplished, it was equally important to secure for the newly-formed counties their proper and equal representation, of at least one representative for each county, in the State legislature. It was perceived that the weight which the new counties would throw into the Democratic side of the scales would change the political complexion of the State, and an attempt was made, under various pretences, by the Whig party, then in the ascendancy, to prevent, or at least postpone, such a result. But Mr. Thompson met and answered all temporizing objections with such force of argument that he effectually silenced opposition, and secured the prompt recognition of the right of the new counties to representation on the same basis of equality with the other counties of the State. By this movement the Democratic party obtained a majority of voters and representatives at the next election, and a complete revolution in the politics of the State was effected. While thus maintaining the rights of his fellow-citizens, and promoting the interests of his party, he became, as was naturally to have been expected, the architect of his own fortunes.

A seat in the State legislature is, ordinarily, the first object of the youthful statesman's ambition, supplying, as it does, a suitable sphere in which his ability as a legislator, an orator, and a political economist, may be fairly and surely proved. But a higher distinction awaited the subject of this notice, as a just reward of the energy he had displayed in the cause of the people and the promotion of their constitutional rights. In January, 1839, the Democratic convention placed him in nomination for Congress. A peculiar significance was given to this selection, arising from the recent relative weight of parties in Mississippi, and from the further consideration that important national issues, especially that of the Independent Treasury, were at stake and hotly contested. It was important, in such an emergency, that the Democratic party should commit no error, but select its best and ablest men to represent its principles, and maintain its cause, in the great council-chamber of the nation. Its attention, accordingly, was strongly directed to Mr. Thompson, as an individual whose intrepid and distinguished career furnished an ample guarantee of his fitness to

meet the approaching crisis. Nor was its confidence misplaced, but signally justified by the result. The new candidate entered upon the arena of conflict with ardor and a determination not merely to retain what had been gained in former struggles, but to achieve a victory, which should be, at the same time, a victory of principle. In accomplishing this purpose, he occupied the post, and performed the part, of a skilful and confidential leader, and received from a grateful constituency the meed of its hearty and unanimous approval.

Mr. Thompson was elected to his seat in Congress from the State of Mississippi under the general ticket system, which entitled him to be regarded the representative not merely of a district, but of the entire State. Under the federal Constitution, the legislatures of the several States were left at liberty to prescribe "the time, place, and manner of electing representatives and senators of the United States," and the district system (which had recently passed into a law) was regarded by several of the States, particularly by New Hampshire, Missouri, Georgia, and Mississippi, as an unconstitutional assumption of power by Congress. These States, accordingly, sent to the twenty-seventh Congress representatives elected according to previous usage, under the general ticket system. Before they took the customary oath of fidelity to the Constitution, a question arose touching their title to their seats, which occasioned one of the most exciting and protracted debates which have occurred in the halls of Congress. At an early stage of it Mr. Thompson made an able and eloquent speech, in which he maintained that the law which would deprive so many States of the Union of their representatives in Congress was subversive of the principle of representation itself, on which the government rests, and, if insisted on, could not fail to lead to a dismemberment of the Union. The arguments urged by him, and other members who advocated the same side of the question, prevailed, and the candidates were at length permitted to take their seats.

During the same Congress, an effort was made to pass a bill to distribute the proceeds of the sales of the public lands among the several States. Among other arguments employed to justify the measure, it was urged that some of the States were involved in debt to the point of repudiation, and a charge was distinctly made against the State of Mississippi for its failure to meet its obligations,—a failure involving, it was said, a breach of good faith. Mr. Thompson took up the gauntlet in behalf of his State, and vindicated her honor and integrity with great force and spirit. He did not deny that bonds bear-

ing the seal of the State of Mississippi, and signed by her governor, to the amount of five millions of dollars, were delivered to the Union Bank of Mississippi and negotiated by that institution; but he maintained that the bonds in question were issued without rightful authority. and in defiance of the State constitution, which had expressly declared that no act, pledging the faith and honor of the State, should pass into a law until it had received the sanction of two successive legislatures, in order that it might be fairly submitted to the judgment of the people for their approval or rejection. This provision of the constitution had been, he said, flagrantly violated in the instance referred to, the obnoxious act having been submitted to only one legislature, and that a partisan one; and the bonds were repudiated, not because the people of Mississippi were unwilling to pay any just debt for which their faith and honor stood pledged, but because the bonds had been issued contrary to the provisions of the fundamental law, and no debt, consequently, had been justly incurred,—a fact perfectly notorious, and well understood by all the parties to the transaction. In this matter, which had been grossly misrepresented both at home and abroad, the people of Mississippi simply stood on the platform of the State constitution, and were determined, in the face of obloquy and injustice, to maintain their constitutional rights. For this he commended them in terms no less merited than eloquent:

"I feel prouder," he said, "of Mississippi this day than I ever felt before. I have seen her people tried, and I know them. Too proud to acknowledge themselves insolvent, too firm to submit to a violation of their rights, regardless of the strokes of calumniators, they take their stand and appeal, as our ancestors did, to a candid and impartial posterity for their support. Every true-hearted Mississippian feels proud of his State. She has forty thousand freemen who are ready to risk all, to sacrifice everything for her honor and her rights. Warmed by a southern sun, fanned by a southern breeze, fed upon a generous soil, our hearts are entwined around our noble State, and we 'grapple her to our bosoms with hoops of steel.' We love Mississippi, our sovereign mistress, to whom we owe fealty and obedience. For her we would live, and for her we would not refuse to die. It is enough to satisfy the ambition of a common man, travel where he may, to feel and to say, 'Mississippi is my home!'"

The congressional career of Mr. Thompson was characterized by the same firmness, independence, manliness, and practical wisdom that had distinguished his previous history. For

twelve successive years, he filled the responsible post of representative of the wealthy and influential State of Mississippi in the House of Representatives of the United States, and, during the entire period, maintained a reputation for frankness, integrity, and statesmanship, which praise cannot increase, nor detraction diminish. He originated many important public measures, and by his eloquence ably sustained others of which he was not the author, but the friend. He did not disdain to belong to a party,—the great Democratic party of the country,—which, with slight intervals, has maintained its ascendency since the origin of the government. Believing the powers of Congress were clearly defined by the Constitution, he was a strict and not a latitudinarian constructionist of that instrument. He equally championed the Union of the States and the rights of the States, and insisted that the former could be preserved only so long as the latter were respected.

Few of our public men have regarded with more attention the just claims upon the government of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, and none, when occasion has offered, has advocated their cause with more zeal and ability, and with a more enlightened understanding of their real position. He had scarcely taken his seat in Congress, when the tribal interests of the Indians of Mississippi having been drawn in question, he promptly arose, and spoke eloquently and powerfully in their behalf. Thrown into intimate association, from the commencement of his public life, with these sons of the forest, he carefully studied their genius, habits, and national peculiarities; and, in the numerous negotiations undertaken by him in their behalf, and at their instance, faithfully carried out the humane, just, and generous policy adopted and uniformly pursued by the United States towards these unfortunate people. No public official, brought in contact with them, ever enjoyed a larger share of their regard, and even veneration. To this day, they cling around the skirts of his garments, look up to him with confidence, and address him with epithets of endearment.

No subject, during his congressional career, more engaged his attention, than the condition of the far distant, and once almost unknown, territory of Oregon, when held, under convention, in joint occupancy, by American and British subjects. In several able speeches he vindicated the claim of the United States, in that region, up to the Russian boundary of 54° 40′, advocating the extension of the mixed policy of our government to that limit. But his prolific, grasping, and versatile mind left unexplored no subject of leading interest that was

before Congress during the period that he held a seat upon the floor of the House; and, in his advocacy of measures, he regarded the Constitution, with its clearly-defined limitations, as the only authoritative exponent of a national policy at once liberal and conservative. Thus, in the protracted and angry debate that arose in the earlier part of his congressional career, in respect to the reception of abolition petitions,—a debate in which the North and South occupied a hostile attitude towards each other,—he maintained that while the rights of the people to petition Congress for a redress of grievances, was a sacred and inviolable right, yet it was the height of arrogance and presumption on their part to expect, and more especially to ask, Congress to do any act (a demand involved in those petitions) which would unsettle the original compromises of the Constitution, and defeat one of the great objects for which the government was formed, viz: the maintenance of "*the public tranquillity;*" while, on the other hand, it would constitute an unpardonable dereliction of duty on the part of the representatives of the people, whose functions, as guardians of the public interests, were distinctly defined by the fundamental law, to travel out of the proper and regular course of legislation for the purpose of discussing irrelevant and vexatious questions, and of inaugurating a policy which could not fail to interrupt the harmony and imperil the integrity of the Union. On the tariff policy, another agitating topic of the day, which had recently convulsed the country, and nearly driven the States asunder, his course was equally defensible and dignified. Thus, while he admitted, with his opponents, the constitutional power of Congress to levy duties on imports, he, along with the great body of the Democratic party, maintained that these duties should be levied simply with a view to revenue, and to such incidental protection as resulted from a revenue tariff; but that the practice which had most unfortunately and unjustly prevailed, for no inconsiderable period, of assessing high and exorbitant duties for the purpose of protecting one branch of American industry at the expense and ruin of another, was not only an unwise, unjust, and exasperating kind of legislation, but constituted a flagrant abuse of delegated, if not a direct assumption of undelegated, power, and aimed a fatal blow at another of the great purposes for which the Constitution was framed and the Union formed, viz: the promotion, not of local or sectional interests, but of the "*general welfare.*"

Again, on the subject of internal improvements by the federal government, another great question of the age and coun-

try, upon which parties had been formed and fiercely antagonistic opinion, promulgated, his views were equally sound and democratic. He scouted, as anti-American and pusillanimous, the idea that the government was to do everything for the people, and the people to do little or nothing for themselves. The States were still sovereign, the only sovereignties known to this country, although they had delegated, under strict limitations, some of the highest functions of government to their special agent, the federal government, an agent which, in the administration of affairs, could not carry out its own will, but was bound and hemmed in by the will of the sovereign States, as expressed in the federal Constitution, the great compact of Union. According to this compact, the States retained the power of supervising and negotiating for themselves all matters of local and domestic interest, while the federal government was empowered to preside over the foreign relations of the country, to declare war, to make peace, to negotiate treaties, and provide for the general welfare. Hence, the federal government had no power to build a railroad, or improve the navigation of a river within the limits of a single State; but that was a power, a right and a duty, which, when the exigency arose, belonged to the State governments, who might incorporate companies, and, if desirable, make appropriations for the the purpose. Thus, when the bill for the construction of the great "Central, Illinois, Ohio and Alabama railroad" came up for consideration, he denied the power of Congress over the subject-matter, but insisted, if the grant asked for were made at all, it should be made, not to corporators, but directly to the States concerned. The reasons he advanced rested on the doctrines of State rights, and were enforced with such energy and clearness as to secure their recognition by Congress.

On subjects of national importance, involving no question of the power of the government, but connected with their legitimate exercise, he spoke often, and uniformly with force and pertinence. His speeches, for example on the establishment of a naval depot on the banks of the Mississippi; on the reduction of the rates of postage; on the regulation of trade and intercourse with the Indians of Oregon territory; on the graduation and reduction of the price of the public lands; on the Mexican war; on bounty and pay to the volunteers in that war; on the Cherokee claims; on the establishment of a board of claims; on the mileage question; on the erection of the Patent Office, the most elegant public edifice now in the federal city; on the political complexion of the executive depart-

ments; on the Galphin claim and Mr. Crawford's connexion with it; on the action of the Secretary of the Interior, the department which he now fills with distinguished ability; on the increase of the rank and file of the army; on the Military Academy; on the Texas boundary; on the California and slave questions, and on various other topics, evince the wide range of subjects to which his mind was directed as a legislator and parliamentary orator, and will long be remembered for the earnestness and ability by which they were characterized, and for the controlling influence they exerted.

He was opposed to the compromise of 1850, for the reasons that its benefits accrued only to the North; that the South gained nothing by it beyond the existing guarantees of the Constitution; that it was destitute of any feature of mutuality; that the surrender of constitutional rights, demanded by it, tended to defeat the great objects of a government of limited powers, and to abridge the rights and cripple the sovereignty of the States.

As a congressional orator, Mr. Thompson's style was pointed, forcible and luminous. When roused by any topic involving the rights of the States, or the safety and institutions of the South, his eloquence rose with his theme, and was characterized by vehemence and impetuosity. Not only as a severe, close, and logical reasoner did he excel, but his fervor and animation were such as to command the attention of his auditors, while his zeal and determination were softened by the highest and most deferential bearing towards his political opponents. Hence his speeches, delivered under the impulse of the subject and the occasion, without formal preparation, were characterized by simplicity and vigor, and, unencumbered by the trappings of rhetorical art, are among the best specimens extant of American parliamentary eloquence.

His practical tact, resulting from long experience, was not less remarkable than his skill in debate; hence, in preparing business for the House, his services were invaluable, and his talents called into constant exercise. During six years of his congressional life, he was an influential member of the Committee on Indian Affairs, and four, out of the six, its chairman; four years he acted on the Committee on Public Lands, and two on the Committee of Ways and Means. He was, as we have said, a party man, but in the ardor of partisanship, and in his devotion to principles which his judgment approved, he never lost sight of the obligations he was under to his country and mankind. Hence, few public men have left the halls of federal legislation after so long a period of active service, en-

joying a larger share of the affection and respect of his contemporaries of whatever party.

On the appointment of the Hon. Robert J. Walker, senator from Mississippi, to a seat in the cabinet of Mr. Polk, the governor of that State selected Mr. Thompson to fill the vacancy occasioned by his resignation, but he declined the distinguished honor, preferring to complete his career in the popular branch of the national legislature.

In 1851, he declined a re-election to Congress, wishing to devote himself to his private affairs, but he addressed a letter to the people of Mississippi, with a view to restore harmony to the ranks of the democratic party, which will long be remembered for the powerful and pacific influence it exerted.

In 1852, he was a member of the national convention at Baltimore, and supported the claims of Mr. Buchanan for the presidency, having cast the ballot of his State for that distinguished personage thirty-three times in succession ; but when it was ascertained that his nomination by the convention was impracticable, he threw the weight of his influence to the side of Mr. Pierce, who ultimately received the nomination.

His appointment by Mr. Buchanan, on his accession to the presidency, to the post of Secretary of the Interior and to a seat in his cabinet, gave the highest satisfaction to the democratic party, and was regarded as eminently appropriate by the whole country. This is a most important department, unique, and without a parallel in the economy of any other government, being strictly of American origin, and it embraces a wide range of duties whose character is not everywhere understood. It has various ramifications, including the Interior Department proper, the Indian bureau, the General Land office, the Pension bureau, the Agricultural bureau, the Census bureau, and its jurisdiction extends over the asylums for the deaf, the dumb, the blind, and the lunatic of the District of Columbia. Comparatively of recent origin, it has been necessitated by the immense landed interests of the United States, by the great number of inventions in the departments of science and useful arts, in which our ingenious countrymen, during the period of our separate and independent existence as a nation, have surpassed any other people, requiring the intervention of law to secure exclusive rights for certain periods to authors and inventors ; by the claims of the Indian tribes, once powerful and wild, the original possessors of the soil we now occupy, but who are fast fading away before the intrusions of a more civilized race upon their ancient hunting-grounds ; and finally, by the liberal provisions made by our government, in the shape of pensions and

bounties for the soldiers, often aged, disabled, and impoverished, who have fought the battles of the country, and for their dependent families. While the other departments of the government have especial reference to war and foreign affairs, that of the Interior encourages the arts of peace, promotes agriculture, builds up towns and cities, inaugurates territories, lays the foundations of States, sustains the cause of education, stimulates genius in its efforts to discover and apply to useful ends the laws of nature, alleviates the evils of war, throws the shield of its protection around the deaf, the dumb, and the lunatic, opens channels of communication between States and territories, encourages emigration, provides homes for the suffering and oppressed of all nations, supplies the coffers of the national treasury with a large portion of its revenues, and protects the country, on the recurrence of those commercial convulsions which sometimes shake the Union to its centre, from the horrors of a general bankruptcy. It is, in fact, the great Home Department of the federal government, by tne instrumentality of which its beneficent character and widespread influence, entering into many of our most important social relations and arrangements, and giving them form, proportion, and permanence, are exhibited to the greatest advantage.

While the eminent individual, who occupies this post, is invested with princely and almost imperial prerogatives, the responsibilities which rest upon him are of a weighty and exacting description, and demand qualifications of the highest order, and such as are not often to be found. In the administration, for example, of the landed estate of the American Union, which reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, covering a surface of one thousand four hundred millions of acres, cases of a complicated character, involving nice questions of law and fact, and requiring thorough, rigid, and laborious examination, are daily, and often in large numbers, submitted for the adjudication of this high functionary, who, to the prompt and faithful execution of his important trust, must bring impartiality in the investigation of testimony, a thorough knowledge of the law, and the highest judicial ability. It is admitted on all hands, by the supporters of the present administration, as well as by its opponents of every shade of opinion, that since the incorporation of this beneficent and now indispensable department into the machinery of the American government, no executive officer has presided over its interests with greater dignity and urbanity, and none performed its multifarious duties with more earnestness, patience, industry, and ability, than its present distinguished incum-

bent. There has been, in an age chargeable with corruption, no tampering with his office, and no prostitution of opportunities for the purpose of securing a shortlived popularity. On the contrary, his course has been uniformly firm, discreet, honorable, and above suspicion. That unprincipled policy which would place the richest domain in the world, the public lands of the United States, in the hands of speculators and stock-jobbers, and would deprive the *bona fide* settler, who has conformed to the requisitions of the law, of his just rights, has always received, as it has deserved, his merited reprobation. No artifice of the unscrupulous claimant has been so subtle as to escape his detection, and no flagrant usurpation of another's homestead has been maintained with so defiant an air, and at such a distance from the national capital, that his arm has not reached and punished the offender; but slight informalities in an application, where the essential conditions of a contract have been complied with, have always received an indulgent consideration at his hands. So able, thorough, and popular has his administration been, that it is difficult to see how his place, which will soon be made vacant, can be supplied by any statesman in all respects equally competent to discharge its high trusts and responsibilities. Were it not that the principle of rotation in office, as far as posts of eminence are concerned, has, from time immemorial, formed an essential feature of our national policy, and been indorsed by the suffrages of the people, it might well be doubted whether the rule of *diu bene gesserit*, which has been applied to the tenure of office of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, might not, on the incoming of a new administration, so far as the public interests are concerned, be applied with singular advantage to such members of the cabinet as have not only faithfully performed their duties, but who, by their administrative ability, have, like the distinguished subject of this notice, added increased lustre and importance to the office they have filled. Before leaving this branch of our subject, we may add that the annual reports of Mr. Thompson, as Secretary of the Interior, are luminous and vigorous in style, and replete with curious and varied information, which those who, having mastered the theory, wish to become acquainted with the practical operations of our government would do well to acquire by a diligent perusal.

In conclusion, we may remark, and it may be well for the student of character to bear it mind, that to no adventitious circumstances of birth or fortune the eminent individual whose striking career we wish to place strongly before the

American people as an example owed the great success which has uniformily followed him in life and crowned his undertakings. To nature, or rather to nature's God and Lawgiver, he was indebted for a sound and vigorous understanding; to his education, which was liberal, the high state of intellectual culture that he attained; to the constant direction of his faculties into the channel of useful and honorable actions, his practical wisdom; and to the continued collision into which his professional pursuits brought him with the passions and opinions of men—the most useful of all kinds of information—his knowledge of mankind. To which may be added that, as a statesman, he had made himself acquainted with the history of governments, and especially with the anomalous workings of his own; and that a talent for extemporaneous speaking, always a commanding endowment, and especially so in a free country, made him influential. But above and beyond these natural and acquired advantages, he possessed a quality, without which they would have been utterly unavailing in securing the highest rewards of statesmanship,—we mean an indomitable will, which, when he was satisfied of the justice or propriety of an action or a purpose, never suffered anything to prevent him from performing the one or accomplishing the other. To the possession of this iron energy of purpose, which he called into active exercise in the prosecution of his well-considered enterprises, may be traced the grand secret of his success in life. Indeed, however much may be said in praise of memory, imagination, judgment, and other mental endowments, it must be admitted that it is the motive power of the will which sets all the other faculties in motion and keeps them perpetually moving; and that where the will is powerful and the intellect luminous, the man who possesses them is, under Providence, called to a high mission, and is capable of fulfilling it with honor to himself and with signal advantage to the age and country in which he lives. Such men, and such only, are able to perceive the full force and exceeding sublimity of the language employed by Oceola, the Seminole chieftain, when he said: "As I think, I speak; as I speak, I act." Such men, in performing the great duties of life, and particularly of those which belong to high positions, lose no time, but turn every moment to account.

The statesmanship and administrative ability exhibited by Mr. Thompson in the halls of legislation, and in the fulfilment of the duties of one of the most responsible offices of the American government, place him in a prominent position among the most reliable men of the age, far beyond the shafts of envy and carping criticism; while his talents, experience, integrity,

firmness, and familiarity with public affairs, fit him for any station, at home or abroad, however high, which his country, sensible of his services and appreciating them as they deserve, may hereafter summon him to fill.

Mr. Thompson is of erect and manly person, over medium stature, with strongly-marked features, indicative of great decision, intensity and sternness of purpose, yet softened by winning manners and a pleasing expression, which, in his business or social intercourse, overspreads his countenance, imparting a charm to his domestic relations, and heightening the elegant hospitalities of his social circle in private and public receptions.

OUR MILITIA SYSTEM, AND PROPOSED REORGANIZATION.

We find on our table Executive Document No. 28, called for by resolution of the Senate, and 2,000 extra copies ordered to be printed. This document appears to be a review of existing militia laws and organization in the several States, and a plan for reconstruction and reorganization under new legislation by Congress. It is from the pen of Lieutenant Colonel B. S. Roberts, addressed to Hon. J. B. Floyd, Secretary of War.

This old, threadbare, and exhausted subject would not be approached by an officer of the army, or by any one else of ordinary caution. It has been the ruin of every statesman of the country who has had the boldness to assume the advocacy of any better system than the present, or to say that, under existing militia laws, this "right arm" of the country's defence is not sufficient "to repel invasion, to put down insurrection and to execute the laws." But Colonel Roberts has fearlessly exposed the defects of the organization, and insufficiency of present laws to create any effective discipline, or any reliable army responding to the progress of arms, the changes in the power of war, and new dangers they have brought close to our doors. He has revived an obsolete and forgotten subject. He has created interest in an uninteresting topic, and really we find ourselves surprised into this notice of an essay on the militia of the country, and asking our readers to treat themselves to something new by reading with attention the few pages of this document.

In speaking of this subject as one without *interest* it is not intended to undervalue its *importance*. In this showing the main value of the document is made up. The *importance* of a new militia system is not only made clear, but the proportions of that importance are drawn out in military dimensions that swells the subject into one of the first magnitude. Surely there is something wrong in the very fact that any important public arm of the country has lost its interest, and passed out of observation and concernment. Should this document produce in the public mind the conviction it has impressed upon us, that the existing militia system is not in the van of progress, that it must be reconstructed and energized by new and better laws, that it is insufficient for any offensive or defensive military operations under hostilities, as wars are now conducted, Colonel Roberts will have gained a success heretofore unattained by any one who has ventured on militia reforms.

The distinguishing characteristic of this document is the clearness and precision of its arguments, and the application of facts that sustain them. Conviction is carried in every paragraph. We are not tired with unmeaning and inapplicable figures, nor with words and reasonings without point. His arguments are facts of the most direct application, and arranged in the order of power, as a skilful general plans his attack. He demonstrates the weakness of our military defences as he would demonstrate a mathematical problem. His military views are made so clear that laymen in the profession cannot fail to comprehend the ethics of engineering and defence. He proves not only the necessity of preparation for war, but a positive obligation and duty in Congress to lose no time in effecting that readiness. He takes the military view, the only wise one, that the *morality* of war is so to energize its power, and so to add to its destructiveness, as to render the country invulnerable in its strength by the magnitude of its dangers to foreign enemies. This sort of ethics sounds strangely in the ears of peace-loving and peace-society men of the day; but it is nevertheless the only unfailing guarantee of peace. When our main cities and harbors are made so strong as to render the cost of attack enormous, and our militia so organized and disciplined as to make success improbable, no foreign power will commit the folly of crossing seas to find unhonored burial in its depths, or to experience defeat and its disasters in a hostile land.

The points made by Colonel Roberts are, that the Constitution imposes on Congress the organization, arming, and disciplining the militia in the several States; that this organi-

zation, as contemplated by the framers of the Constitution, was to be sufficient for the common defence and general welfare; that the States surrendered their right to keep and maintain troops in time of peace on the constitutional guarantee that Congress should provide a militia to protect each from invasion, to put down insurrection, to execute the laws, and to insure domestic tranquillity; that if Congress fails to fulfil this guarantee, the States resume their sovereignty and their right to keep troops in time of peace; that Congress has not discharged this constitutional obligation; that its laws have not had the efficacy to create a well-disciplined, well-armed, and well-organized militia; that the experience of three-quarters of a century condemns their policy and proves it to be a failure; that the term of militia service is too long; that its coercive policy has made it unpopular; that it has become obsolete in all the States, and that a volunteer plan has been adopted; that the four millions of militia under present laws is too large an organization to be made effective by any plan of instruction or discipline; that so large a force is unnecessary, and would be too expensive for Congress to arm; that it has not answered the expectations of the country, and has failed to make up any considerable measure of the country's prosperity or to advance its progress.

He proposes to avoid all these evils by new legislation, shortening the period of militia service, and adopting a volunteer plan. He fixes, as a minimum, two hundred thousand men; they are to serve five years voluntarily, and the inducement for that service is a discharge at the end of that period, and pay for a few days each year while under drill and instruction. They are to be armed, clothed, equipped, organized, and disciplined under laws of Congress, and proportioned to the different States in the ratio of their population. To insure uniformity in the instruction and discipline, he proposes the appointment of an adjutant general in each State by the President, selected with regard to eminent fitness for administrative and executive military command.

In every point Colonel Roberts has made, facts and illustrations have been brought of convincing and conclusive weight. In every remedy he has proposed, their efficacy is clearly expressed, and their necessity made plain and practical.

The importance of this subject is of a magnitude that should place it above all party considerations. It reaches the common defence and the general welfare, in which all are alike concerned. It is confessed that all our military defences, and every military organization and arm of the country, need re-

vision, reconstruction, and renewed strength. The time is propitious to bring the subject before Congress and the country, and it is fortunate that an officer of the army of the experience, reputation, and ability of Colonel Roberts has ventured to take in hand a subject so difficult and dangerous. While we would avoid the fate of Carthage, we must shun the false security of Carthagenian self-reliance, lest by surprise, and for want of preparation and defence, we fall as Carthage fell, under foreign blows. Rome, too, should admonish us of the more fatal danger of self-destruction under the weight of armies—that, conquering the world, yet wasted its own vitality in disciplined legions unnecessary for self-defence.

PROGRESS OF THE AGE.

A SATIRE.

[In looking over some of my grandfather's papers, which came into my hands lately, upon the death of my father, I found the following satire, in a very good state of preservation, in the quaint, old-fashioned handwriting of that period. I have no doubt he was the author of the poem, and I copy it and send it to you for publication; first, because I think it has some merit, and last, because I believe the times and the manners require some such corrective.]

Once on a time, on Susquehanna's side,
Of all its denizens the joy and pride,
A smiling village rose, embowered in trees
That cooled the noon and woo'd the evening breeze:
To which on gala days the youths repair,
Enjoy the Fourth, the muster, or the fair,
Bring to the sport strong limbs and healthy mind,
And manners warm, if brusque and unrefined;
While all the village beaux and belles went out,
Joined in the sport, and swelled the joyous shout.

The country poured rich treasures at its feet;
The merchant sought but gain with justice meet;
Bought, sold, and trafficked coffee, pepper, tea;
Silks, lawns, and calicoes on hand had he.
Thus prospered each, each other's wants supplied,
And all, with care, their riches multiplied.
The doctor tried to heal, instead of wound;
Each case was his for miles the country round.
No golden-headed cane turns up his nose,
But kind and common through his world he goes.
If the vexed mind was cause of the disease,
The doctor's kindness gave it instant ease;
If poverty, with griping hand, was there,
The doctor's larder answered to the prayer.

The parson, too, claimed brotherhood with all,
And warmly welcomed both the great and small;
The horny palm of laboring man would press,
And all his flock instinctively caress;
Visit them oft, their little sorrows share,
And soothe their passions with the voice of prayer;
If joy was theirs, the parson's kindling eye
And kindly voice directed them on high.

The lawyer, too—the village boasted one—
Was fain to settle all disputes begun.
No pettifogging limb of law was he,
With pompous air and foreign pedigree,
To broadcloth, wine, and billiards early wed,
All on his back and nothing in his head;
He was the friend of all who sought his aid,
And lived and died with conscience unbetrayed.
Such was the man, familiar but not rude,
To study given, but not to solitude;
Learned, but not pedant; of a cheerful mind,
To chess and Greek, as well as law, inclined.
While oft the parson and the doctor sat,
Till late at night, enamored of his chat,
The tradesmen and mechanics were no less
The friends and auditors his cheer could bless.

At dances, parties, pic-nics, routs, and shows,
Without distinction, mingled belles and beaux;
The sun-browned laborer was held no worse
Than he, who had a thousand in his purse;
The merchant flirted with the pretty maid
Who oft brought butter to the store to trade,
And the sweet daughter of our millionaire,
Danced with the blacksmith's son—a handsome pair.
'Twas pure amusement all, and glee and song
Hurried on wings the precious time along;
Dissatisfaction fled from every face,
And Pleasure seemed the genius of the place.

Thus long we wandered a benighted race,
Each one regardless of his proper place;
We knew no better, be this our excuse,
And shield our heads from well-deserved abuse;
For other counsels rule our quiet town,
To see mechanics *now* we all look down;
And some who oft together walked the street,
No longer know each other when they meet.
Thus have we learned at last to strut, and stare
At well-known faces, with an absent air;
And now can tell what quality of clay
A man is made of, by the grand display
He makes of broadcloth, rings, *et cetera.*
Thank God! each knows his place, and now we see
No rough mechanic at the dear soiree;
But gentlemen of standing, ladies fair,
Bewhiskered city clerks with vacant stare,

Barbers disguised as counts, with foreign air,
And most superior manners, here repair.
No noisy, mirthful crowd disturbs repose,
A few may whisper while the many doze;
No songs, no vulgar laughter now are heard,
But the sweet smile and simper are preferred.
We shall improve, our teachers tell us, yet,
And soon become a quiet, genteel set;
Who of ourselves shall take a proper view,
Who know our rights, and will maintain them, too.

Heigh-ho! I wish this progress had not come;
The "upper ten" you seldom find at home,
And, if you do, each syllable they say
Is turned and weighed the most malicious way.
No kindly laugh disturbs the languid face,
But a half-sickly smile usurps its place,
And after chill half hours among them spent,
You gladly leave, half sorry that you went,
But sadder far, to see enjoyment fall,
And cold convention freeze the mirth of all.

You dare not go among the "thousand" now;
'Twould stamp disgrace forever on your brow,
A rough mechanic you would dare to treat
With only half a nod upon the street;
And to address a woman, in a gown
Of calico, would drive you from the town.
We do not meet as years ago we met,
Ripe for enjoyment, a promiscuous set;
No! no! those days have fled—those halcyon days,
Worthy the Gods, and meet for poets' praise.
Mourn! mourn! ye youth! the golden age is o'er,
And dances, routs, and pic-nics are no more.
A rough mechanic dare not now intrude
Upon a lawyer's sacred solitude;
And silks and satins are divinely prest,
By broadcloth sleeves, against a satin vest.
Old things are done away, behold we view
Progress and change, but not improvement too.
Woe worth the day, when caste and wealth shall be
The charms that pass to good society;
Let laboring hands and thinking brains unite,
Each do its proper work with all its might;
Nor gold nor silk shall pave the way to fame,
Nor honors gather round an ancient name.
Here every man shall act a glorious part,
If sound in mind and of a loyal heart,
Prompt to sustain the honor of our sires,
Prompt to defend our altars and our fires,
Forever battling for the good old cause,
Our noble Constitution and our laws.

A VISIT TO THE RUINS OF PACHACAMAC.

THE curious, as well as the devout, read Genesis with interest; few, indeed, have lived who have not pictured to themselves the earliest ages of human existence, sympathized with supposed forefathers, and speculated as to the origin of races. Is the negro with his thick lips and curly hair "my brother?" Are we to refer all the cha ges of physiognomy, color, &c., of the races, now so widely separated, to the "baking process?" Did our forefathers, in the dawn of human life, dwell together as brothers; and has necessity, what is called CHANCE, and their own natures, driven them far apart? Then has climate and food, and the hundred other unseen, yet unceasing, influences of what we call NATURE so changed "our brothers" that we feel loth to acknowledge the relationship.

Come from whence he may, be he African, Asiatic, or American, when you see a prince standing before you in all the pride of rank and power, be sure that in the obscure past he has had beggar and worse than beggar forefather; when you see a suppliant crouching, asking alms, doubt not that in his veins flows the blood of greater than king—of some of earth's prodigies of valor or of thought! Give the poor creature his mite—let the merit of his great, although unnamed, ancestor plead in his behalf—feel in your heart that if, indeed, he be the son of another Adam than yourself, that you have still the same Creator who has inspired him with more or less of the common sympathies and sentiments which move you to action, albeit that in his breast lie dormant, perhaps, the virtues which you are pleased to call your own, and perhaps vices fearfully active which you would fain flatter yourself are his alone, and which may not be wholly so. Inspired thus, if not with a feeling of common brotherhood, at least with a sense of affinity, how different the ruins of past ages and vestiges of races appear; no longer is the temple or the fortress simply a structure made by those who have lived and passed away, but with it rises a sympathy and a dim outline of what thousands, perhaps millions, of human beings hoped and feared, who lived all unconscious that the ploughshare would soon pass over the ruins of their houses, or that all tenantless they would stand in almost unbroken solitude, the sole visible remains of a people who have passed away!

Thus spoke my learned and agreeable friend as we rode on

horseback to visit the ruins of the once proud city of PACHACAMAC, which lies at a distance of some twenty-five miles from Lima; it was in the gray dawn of the morning, and as usual cloudy and misty, such as with us would indicate every probability of a gloomy day. It will be remembered that the climate of Peru is peculiar; that no rains fall near the coast, but that almost every night there is a *Scotch mist*—what we would denominate a "drizzle." As the sun rises the mists disappear, and at noonday the ancient deity peers forth, illuminating the rugged mountain barriers that rise rank after rank, until far in the interior the eye rests on the crowning summits and peaks of the Andes.

As we advanced, the barrenness of the soil was such that not even a cactus reared its head; long undulating reaches of loose dirty-looking sand laid before us; at intervals a barren craggy hillock; no living thing visible, except from time to time a white lizard, which, startled in its solitude, sought refuge in a hole.

A few miles brought us to the sea-beach; barren hills, whose asperities were almost concealed by the drifted sand, rose at a distance of a hundred yards from the sea; the intervening space was dotted with the bleached bones of seals, whales, and sea-birds; nothing of life was visible save a few vultures that circled high up in air, and a few seals who curiously regarded us from without the line of breakers; the huge waves rolled majestically far up on the sandy shore. There is something deeply impressive in a dreary sea view, as will be acknowledged by all who have seen it.

Our ride of six miles along the beach became tiresome; from the looseness of the sand the horses were weary, and we from the monotony. At length there was a curve which brought to sight a few green trees, and soon afterwards the eminence upon which are the ruins of the temple of PACHACAMAC, "which was the only one in all the country dedicated to the Supreme Being, and for this reason it was visited by pilgrims from the most remote regions to present their offerings and to adore the Deity."

As we neared the trees a few miserable thatched huts became visible; dirty, long-haired, and almost naked children peeped curiously out to see the strangers, whose arrival was announced by the general barking of all the dogs. Finally, the full-grown bipeds, male and female, came lazily out to gratify their curiosity. We had no reason to think, from their appearance, that the centuries of intercourse with civilized races and their Christianity, had exalted them mentally, morally, or

physically above their possible progenitors who may have reared the city now roofless, voiceless, and desolate.

After a few minutes' conversation we started on our way; a line of large *adobe* (unburned bricks) blocks lined the pathway, and human skeletons and shreds of cotton cloths strewed the loose sand; hair once black, changed by a lapse of centuries to a dull brown, hung in matted masses upon the skulls, and the "sightless orbs" were upturned in death to the broad rays of their deity in life—the sun.

The sides of the hills are so thickly covered with graves yet undisturbed that we had no difficulty in obtaining mummies; as the men dug with mattock and spade a fine impalpable dust and loose stones were thrown out, and soon disclosed bodies tied so that the chin rests upon the knees, and the heels against the upper part of the thigh bone; the arms folded close against the body, with the hand resting against the lower part of the ear. The bodies are swathed in cotton cloths, (many of them of brilliant colors and beautifully woven,) then placed in sacks or wrapped around with coarser cloth, and enclosed with a network of coarse meshes made of a species of manilla hemp, and fitting so closely as to reveal at once the outline of the human figure folded as described.

The bodies have dried without decay, and the cloths and sacks are often unstained as though but recently interred; this no doubt arises from the fact that no rain falls sufficient to penetrate the earth; the bodies were interred in dust, and dust it has remained for at least three centuries. The earth is highly charged with nitrate of soda, which perhaps has aided to prevent decay.

When our men had disinterred several mummies, my friend was at a loss to know if his carrying off the skulls would shock the "*paisanos*" (countrymen.) On asking their views, they replied, with a shrug of the shoulders: "*Porque no llevarlos si Vds. guste, aquellos no sou nada mas que cráneos de Gentiles.*" The fact that they were "Gentiles" (not Christians) was sufficient reason why we should have their skulls.

We made a tour through long streets of the ancient and now desolate city, between *adobe* houses of imposing size; they were roofless, but the lintels above the doorways, composed of layers of small reeds, are yet there. The absence of extreme heat or cold, and that they are never saturated by rains, must account for their preservation for so many centuries.

We ascended on horseback a steep pathway, and stood upon the site of the ancient temples of PACHACAMAC and of CON.

Their foundations are not visible, but, buried beneath the debris, may be disinterred at some future time. The summit of the hill covers nearly an acre of ground, and is about four hundred and thirty feet above the level of the sea. The slope facing towards the sandy plain is divided into three escarpments, which are walled in part with stones and in part with *adobes*, and plastered with clay, which, painted red, has withstood the vicissitudes of the climate for at least three centuries, and bids fair to do so for a long time to come. These walled escarpments are each some twenty-five feet in height and in the form of stairs, thus forming *benches* which could be occupied by men defending the place.

The side towards the sea is crowned by an *adobe* wall built with buttresses, and castellated or niched after the manner of Moorish towers; the lower part of the hill on that side was also cut perpendicularly and walled to a considerable height. The hill itself, as well as the surrounding heights, appears to be composed of a friable gneiss. Pieces of broken crockery are found on the summit; partial excavations have been made, but neither relic nor skeleton has been exhumed.

The view from the site of the temple is magnificent. How suggestive, too, of reflections on human power, vain as it is fleeting and unsubstantial! Below, stretching far and wide, were the unburnt brick walls of a once populous city, whose successive inhabitants for century after century lie exposed and bleaching, or are yet buried in the dust of that sandy plain; roofless and voiceless are now the spacious halls of the Incas; the solitude of the desert reigns where four centuries ago dwelt the "blessed children of the sun." Not among their sorrows was the thought that they and their descendants would soon pass away; that men of a race, whose very existence was unknown to them, would stand upon the ruins of their temples and see no more of life than a few miserable huts, and, in the distance, a mule-train slowly wending its way over the barren waste of sand.

From the verdure which skirted the beautiful valley of Lurin came up the songs of birds, and, ceaselessly, the loud monotonous roar of the ocean, as it did in the times of the Incas. In the distance, through the shifting mists, peered the huge peaks of the Andes, fantastic in form, blanched by the eternal snows, and glittering in the sunlight.

EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES—THE DUTIES OF PUBLIC OPINION.

"Our great title is AMERICANS—our inferior one varies with the place."
THOMAS PAINE.—*The Crisis*, No. XV.

THERE is no country in which can be found the same form of political institutions, the same relation of the masses to the government, the same reaction of the government upon the masses, as exist in the United States. Equally fruitless would be the attempt to discover contests upon measures of policy, carried on as our party struggles are conducted. In the arbitrary distinctions preserved between the higher and the lower classes; in the unequal distribution of property and honors; in the vast gulf that separates the interests of the capitalist and the laborer; in the underlying reverence for tradition, even in its worst phases, and the intense prejudice against progress where it has done most for the happiness and the glory of the human race, other nations present a spectacle which may be said to bring them within the application of a general rule. They form a common background, the inequalities of which are to be seen only upon a nearer approach, but which have nothing so marked as to attract the attention of a careless observer. In the United States, however, it is not too much to say that the most thoughtless mind is quickened into something like observation by the direct uniform interposition of that power which, in other countries, even in those in which it is most fostered, seems to act with a hesitation resembling the manner in which the clown in the Arabian tale exercises his borrowed authority. By the shoemaker of Bagdad, as by the operative of Sheffield, is manifested an uneasy consciousness that power has more dangers than delights, and that it would be far from prudent to vindicate it clearly and boldly. How different it is with us, the most petty county meeting is sufficient to show. We fall, indeed, into the opposite extreme. We act as though we were under the full conviction that our political privileges are without limitation, and that, so far from being surrounded by perils, they are to be used upon all occasions, and under the influence of all tempers. The most apathetic derive a certain reflected energy from the immense pressure of vitality meeting them upon every side, and are as unable to remain stagnant as a quiet man who has had the misfortune to become entangled in a moving crowd is to refuse to follow its onward movement.

To this very individuality of our institutions may be, doubtless, ascribed many of the erroneous impressions which some foreigners of undisputed ability have formed in reference to the causes of that prosperity that has always appeared a marvel to the Old World. The truth is, they judge our lower classes by the coal-heavers of Newcastle, the proletaries of the department of Finistère, or the boors of the canton of Tessin. They reason upon this subject as it was the fashion, two centuries ago, for intelligent Europeans to reason in regard to the Jews. The Jew, said they, although he has emigrated, has rarely married outside of his race, and has kept himself sullenly aloof from the world and the associations by which he is surrounded; nor has he altered in features from the days when his ancestors scoffingly invoked sentence upon their King before the tribunal of Pilate. Judas was a Jew, and he was base enough to accept a bribe for betraying a master, who was to him and to his brother disciples at once a loving human friend and a tender and divine consoler. Because there is a close resemblance in features between a Jew of the seventeenth century and one of the first, there must be an equal correspondence between them in their moral traits; therefore, they infer, any Jew would be willing, if he thought it warranted by his interests, to betray a friend or a ruler, and to receive complacently a reward for his infamy.

It is in this manner, we suspect, that some persons, of narrowed prejudices, whose investigations have not led them to believe that a new system of social ethics is being vindicated on the western continent, discuss the progress of the people of the United States in the elements of political wisdom. Because the factorymen of Norwich, the shoemakers of Lynn, or the ironworkers of Louisville, occupy a position similar to that of the corresponding classes in Europe, it follows, according to these writers, that their appreciation of their responsibilities is as blunted, their respect for themselves as much depressed by adverse circumstances, and their views upon subjects affecting their best and dearest interests as limited and confused. They utterly fail to understand the influence which the institutions of the country have, more than upon any other point, exerted upon the dignity of the man and the pride of the citizen. It would almost seem that they forget that man is an improvable creature, and that he always is what laws and his religion make him.

The working subject of Europe and the working citizen of the United States are, indeed, two entirely different beings. The mind and character of each are formed by the political

system under which he lives. He is the fittest commentary upon it. He partakes of its very essence. He combines in himself all its excellencies and its defects, its virtues and its vices. Its features are as clearly traceable in him as those of a parent in a child, or an author in his works; and a political economist, in search of the most direct influence of government upon a country, need go no further in his inquiries than the condition of the laboring classes under it.

There can be but little doubt that the highest aim of a government should be to elevate the character of that class which is forbidden, by circumstances, from receiving the advantages of a polite education. But there is for the people a branch of education more truly useful to them than would be all the theories of Aristotle or the golden reveries of Plato. They can be, it is evident, but slightly benefited by fanciful pictures of a state of perfect human happiness, when the world has not presented, nor ever will present, forms of government similar to those over which the student ponders in the pages of the Republic and the Treatise on Politics. Nor is it probable that the doctrines of these rival sects, whose sterile discussions kept the ancient world in a continual fever, and have even left their traces in the frame-work of Christian society, would be likely to render them either more expert at their trades or more reliable in their opinions. The fact is, the policy of a government cannot be normally directed to make the masses scholars and orators, but, rather, intelligent and judicious men, in whatever occupations they may select. We live in a world of actual labors, not in one of imaginary blessings. It would, we do not doubt, be a pleasant existence to be surrounded by none but beings as witty as Mercutio, as chivalrous and high-minded as King Arthur, as refined as Romeo. But, as this would be one of the many modifications of an unreal Utopia, governments are absolved from making any efforts to prepare us for shining as members of such a society.

The divisions of the social system are by no means so artificial as some persons suppose. These are, undoubtedly, extended in some countries to a point which has produced the moral and intellectual prostration of a whole class, which has entailed the saddest consequences upon the nations at large, and which demands the earnest and united efforts of the political reformers of the age. Yet it does not necessarily follow that the state of society in which such abuses may be found constitutes primarily a perversion of natural laws. Distinct classes may, indeed, become, through individuals, partially fused into one another; a man born in one division may, before he

dies, find himself enjoying the advantages of the next higher; a farm-hand may become, for instance, a tradesman, and the tradesman may in time rise into the opulent and enterprising merchant. But there must be a working class; and, so long as society is constituted as it is at present, and as it has been since the beginning of the world, we see no reason to infer that the time will ever come when the golden age—whenever that may have been—will be excelled ; when the ideal commonwealth of honest Gonzalo will be realized ; when all men will be idle, and all women pure ; when harvests will be grown and gathered as the fruits of Ecuador, and proud cities be reared in one night, as the marvellous palace of Aladdin.

That there must be a laboring class among men, is a truism which rests on the essential conditions of the union of society and the prosperity of states. Like all natural necessities, this condition is immutable, and is as far beyond the control of statesmen or dreamers as the tides of the ocean or the changes of the seasons. What is artificial, however, is the manner in which that class is treated by the laws of the majority of the nations of Europe. There is assuredly no necessity that a man, because he may be a laborer, should be neglected by legislators ; that he should pass his life without a single aspiration towards something higher and nobler ; that he should not be taught that manual occupations may be united with a refined taste and enlarged views; and that he should remain always ignorant of the interest which it is his duty to feel in the efficiency and preservation of existing institutions. The selfish policy pursued, more or less, by the nations of the Old World towards those who work their engines, who fill their factories, who till their lands and dig their mines, is what has done more than all else to bring the mechanic into disrepute among those enjoying greater privileges than himself. It has deprived him of opportunities to show what nature has intended him to be, if bad laws had not made him what he is. It has degraded him in his own opinion. It has made him a subject, who has no reverence for the crown; a farm laborer, to whom it is perfectly indifferent whether the land be exhausted or not ; a factory machine, whose only care is his weekly remuneration, and who would be amazed were he informed of the magnitude of the interests which pass daily through his hands.

It is clear that such a course is as dangerous to a government as it is prejudicial to the lower classes. It is not usual for men to be very enthusiastic in the support of measures or institutions which have never been of advantage to them. A change is not regarded by them with that horror and dismay

with which it affects those who are satisfied with their position, for the simple reason that they have received nothing but unmixed benefit from it. On the contrary, it presents itself as a ray of hope in the black night surrounding them. It is hailed as a harbinger of deliverance from evils, the full extent of which they themselves do not know. They are willing to believe every element which it involves to be as good, because they have seen nothing but what is bad connected with the system under which they live. They are not afraid to be innovators, for innovations, in their minds, are equivalent to reforms. They are maddened by their injuries, and are ready to become the most reckless of tools to the most reckless of agitators; to be to their leaders what the men of Kent were to Jack Cade, and what the clubs of Paris were to the chiefs of the Mountain.

What, then, is the most obvious policy, in presence of such a danger, ever imminent, for the reason that the causes for it are always active? How is this class to be propitiated? Is it not by making each man, to use a commercial phrase, a stockholder in the government, by a grant of participation in all its advantages? Is it not by placing the inducements to conservatism against the necessities for a change, and by giving him a personal stake in the institutions so great as to render him more desirous to maintain than to weaken them? Is it not, in short, by fostering a sound, healthy public opinion? If this be so, how can such a result be obtained? To those who know how powerful a friend a liberal government is to itself, and how the enlightenment of the masses under it is the surest agent in making them faithful, when before they were disaffected—enthusiastic and loyal, when before they were sullen and rebellious—the suggestions of reform are, we conceive, perfectly clear. It is most gratifying, indeed, to see that many of the leading minds of Europe are beginning to appreciate the force of this great truth. The fogs of the feudal ages are breaking on every side. The artificialities with which the arrogance of privileged classes has invested this question—the sneers and the ridicule with which they have never failed to welcome the least approach to a more liberal policy—are now rightly understood. In the political revival which the Old World is destined soon to witness, those nations that have as yet neglected the lessons of the last half century will surely receive a chastisement proportionate to their present obstinacy. On some other occasion, perhaps, we may present our views upon this important subject. For the present, we will only say that this age is one of a moral revo-

lution, which must, sooner or later, produce a material change in the social and political aspect of Europe. The period is approaching when Continental Congresses will no longer meet to discuss the interests of European dynasties, but to treat of the welfare of European masses; and when the balance of power among the former will become a subject of less concern than the relations of the latter to the moneyed and aristocratic classes. Before the close of this century, a statesman who may be found uttering the pompous commonplaces upon the peace of the continent which, even now, are becoming strangely ridiculous, will be as far behind the spirit of the day as the British Parliament some few years ago was in its views of the propriety of Catholic emancipation. There is, at this time, a better, because a more healthy, growth of liberal principles in Europe, than when their advocates had raised the guillotine in France, and had altered the succession in Spain and the Sicilies.

The European statesmen of past generations have been of opinion that it was a cardinal point of political economy to keep the people ignorant of their rights. The statesman of the new generation will, however, be likely to judge more correctly. He will be in favor of granting reforms, in order that they may not be wrested by the strong hand of revolution. He will think it better to allow them privileges, and then to educate them, so that these privileges can be appreciated, than to refuse them all rights from a fear that they will in the hour of their triumph become agrarians or communists. He will believe that the closer the connexion between a government and a subject, the more conservative will that subject be. He will be, through principle, what O'Connell was through interest; what Burke, at one time, was through a generous enthusiasm. He will modify unjust restrictions in society, in order that society itself may be preserved. There is, it must be admitted, an immense difference, in theory, between the freedom of the masses and the continued government of a monocracy. But it does not follow, if the Kings and Emperors of Europe be willing to assume the initiative in elevating the character and the condition of their working classes, that the progress of liberal principles will necessarily end in the destruction of their authority. An educated democracy and an enlightened monarchy possess, by no means, so many points of antagonism as do a brutal despotism and a debased populace. If, however, on the day of the awakening of the nations, the rulers shall be found in the rear of the popular movements, their power will surely crumble, as did the walls of Jericho when the priests blew the trumpets and all the people shouted.

No branch of human thought is, probably, more restricted, by received opinion, in its influences on the general concerns of societies than is that of poetry. The grace and loveliness of woman, the grandeur of nature, the war of the passions in human hearts, the sweet creations with which the fancy peoples the real and the unreal world, and the splendid enchantments of fairy land, are thought to be legitimate subjects for a poet. All that can please and refine the imagination, that can awaken a sentiment without exacting a thought, is conceded to him. But he must not leave the throne of Apollo for the chair of the Stagirite. By that test he has no right to attempt the instruction of his readers. He is so indentified, in their minds, with being the recorder of imaginary loves, the analyst of imaginary passions, and the historian of imaginary events, that practical views, founded upon actual observation, are likely to be regarded with the same dubious admiration with which they look upon the youthful verses of the great Pitt or the political tracts of Dr. Johnson. He is not forbidden, indeed, to moralize. If it be once suspected, however, that he moralizes upon social abstractions, truths, or social abuses, he may be respected as a well-meaning philosopher. But there will be many who will wish that his philosophy had been written in prose. He is a poet, whose fame will be lessened by his having been too much of a theorist; and a theorist, who is refused a high place in literature because he has recorded his theories in verse. The lovers of mere poetry are repelled by his speculative spirit. The lovers of mere speculation suspect his profundity, because he has chosen to conclude each line with a rhyme. It is this constant struggle in the minds of many persons, not ignorant, it is true, but of little critical taste, that has done so much to hazard the position in the world of letters of some really eminent writers. We have seen some, even in our work-day life, when thought is more esteemed for its presumed utility than its real beauty, who could not believe that Pope was more than an ingenious compiler of apophthegms, or Crabbe more than a good Christian and an honest friend of reform. They preferred the trivialities of Gay to the "Essay on Man" and could see no poetical merit in the "Borough" which is not shared in by the "Camelion" of Prior, or the silliest apostrophes to the charms of Chloe and Belinda.

We somewhat doubt, however, whether any clearer conception can be formed of the controlling political ideas of an age than that acquired from the reading of the writings of its poets. This, in a great measure, is the case with the poets of

Greece and of Rome. No source of information now at our command can supply the inquirer with a knowledge of the nature of labor in antiquity with its system, whether servile or free,* urban or predial, with the condition of the laborer in the social frame, and with the position of the citizen himself, any way more satisfactory than that which he derives from the Works and Days of Hesiod, from the Georgics and Bucolics of the poets, from the dramatic pamphlets of Aristophanes, and the scenic delineations of Plautus. It may, indeed, be said that writers so severe as Bœckh, in his Political Economy of the Athenians, Durand de Lamalle, in that of the Romans, and Bouchaud, in his commentaries on the Twelve Tables, have derived quite as many illustrations from the political plays of Aristophanes, the comedies of Plautus and of Terence, and the satires of Horace and of Juvenal, as they have drawn from the Œconomics of Xenophon, the formal rules of Varro or of Columella, and the solemn edicts of the Prætor Urbanus. Some poets, therefore, ancient or modern, may be said with justice to be social exponents, and to present in a lively and graphic manner the governing thought of their day. A political poem differs from a work on political economy, as a statue of Napoleon by Bra differs from the "Coronation" by David. Both undoubtedly produce an artistic effect. The painter gives a better general idea—the sculptor a more particular one. The former is partial to minute touches, and pays the same attention to the color of the hands and the disposal of the accessories as he does to the glance of the eye or the set of the mouth. But the sculptor draws his semblance more hardly and boldly. He throws into the face the expression that marked the man in life. He does not, indeed, like the painter, give us an idea of the splendor of the ceremony, of the fall of the stately drapery, of the brilliant assemblage of statesmen and orators, and warriors and lovely women, that graced the elevation to the purple of the conqueror of central Europe; but he does not fail to stamp upon the memory the likeness of the reformer himself. We may leave the Coronation piece with a better conception of the occasion; but we will be likely to take away a more glowing impression of the man after gazing at the great Emperor in marble.

This is the very triumph of the poet. He neglects, indeed, all minor details; but he produces on his readers, on the other

* When we speak of "free labor" in antiquity, whether in Athens or in Rome, we use the expression *ex gratia;* for we would not be averse to taking up the question and attempting to prove that the mass of labor was performed in all its varieties by servile hands.

hand, an influence more vivid than an unskilful writer could produce with the closest observance of them. We are not compelled to labor through whole pages before arriving at the great truth to be proclaimed. We see it sparkling in some happy antithesis, or in some well-balanced couplet. While, in the case of the political writer, we find the principle drawn through whole chapters, and rendered obscure, perhaps, in the attenuation, we find, in the other, whole chapters compressed into a few terse, vigorous lines. The poet may appear less profound; but it is, we suspect, merely because he is less wordy. He presents his propositions in a manner so simple, that they can be understood by the least ambitious intellect. His duty is then over; and, surely, no one has a right to complain if he has not exposed to view the processes by which these propositions have been obtained. It is not too much to say, we think, that an intelligent reader will rise from the perusal of the Corn-Law Rhymes of Ebenezer Elliot with a keener insight into the direful consequences produced by an unwise legislation, than if he were to read all the huge records of the British Parliament upon the same subject. The Divine Comedy of Dante is a better guide into the character of the partisan warfare of the Neri and Bianchi of Florence than the voluminous pages of Guicciardini. The poems of Alfieri would make even a modern Bembo love the cause of Italian regeneration; they present so strongly and passionately the earliest bursts of that spirit which has not flagged since his burning words first became its exponent, and then threw over it a newer and more winning beauty.

Any one who will take the trouble of reading the British poets of the last century will be struck by the almost total unanimity with which, while they speak of the graces of liberty, they constantly pass by, in silence if not in scorn, the rights of the laboring classes. This strange omission does not, however, proceed from their not understanding the practical sentiment around them. On the contrary, they had well appreciated it. They had judged correctly the statesmen and reformers of the age, and their thoughts were no more than an echo of the political tenets then in fashion. It would be difficult, we conceive, to select from the political papers of the period a more forcible enunciation of the main principle of social economy which prevailed in England, until the publication of Bentham's works, than the well-known lines in Goldsmith's "Traveller"—

> "For just experience tells, on every soil,
> That those who think must govern those who toil."

It is evident that he had never thought of a state of society in which the interests of the two classes would become one, from the fact that they would be united in the same persons. The working man is, according to him, forever to remain in a state of social and intellectual vassalage. The time will never come when, by having learned to think, he will be fitted to govern himself. The proposition, however, is not incontrovertible. The fact is, we in the United States have already reversed it.

Gray did, indeed, make an effort to impart to governments some wholesome advice upon their duties and obligations. But he is far from giving us any conception of the exact means of elevating the character of the classes to which we have referred. The lines he has left us can, of course, be taken only as a fragment—a noble one, it may be, but too imperfect, in its present form, to be made the basis of any formal judgment upon its merits. We may be wrong; but we cannot confess to as deep an admiration of his didactic poem as has been expressed by many respectable writers. We do not believe that the political literature of our language has lost much from its not having been completed. The mind of Gray was not, we think, possessed of precisely those attributes which would have enabled him to write a well-connected and lofty poem upon an abstract question of political economy. He would have probably left a work admirable for its contrasted excellencies, its picturesque train of thought, its pure and graceful imagery, its chaste scholarship, its occasionally acute observations upon life and manners, and its grave and elegant satire. To those, however, (if any there were in that age,) who may have desired to see the manner in which the alliance between education and government was to be made useful, and the classes which it was to benefit, it would, we suspect, have afforded but little satisfaction. Indeed, the detached sentiments collected by Mason, and which were evidently intended to be woven into the poem, leave no doubt upon this point. When an author can imagine no more exalted mission for their combined action than the correction of faults that result from the soil and air, it may be inferred that he has thought but little of the graver errors that may creep into a state from a corrupt and defective system of laws. A faith in the poet sufficient to discover a reference to social evils in Gray's pretty conceit of soil and air, would be likely to agree with Benedick in finding a tender meaning in the saucy impatience of the laughing lady in the garden of Leonato.

The principles which control the policy of the United States have often been grossly misrepresented. But we doubt whether the ignorance that has been displayed upon this point has been equalled by the remarkable misconceptions which have been scattered abroad by some European writers upon the influence of public opinion among us. Such persons have certain theories of their own upon the direct exercise of authority by the people. Their creed consists in a general reverence for the capacity of the higher classes, and a general denial of the fitness of the lower, in the administration of the political affairs of a nation. They have a vague idea that the people cannot be educated to administer their own government, and that all popular movements must end, like the French revolution of 1789, in the atrocities of a revolutionary tribunal; like that of 1830, in the formation of a constitutional monarchy; or like the movement of 1848, in the triumph of an authority, which will not only belie all the liberal principles that may have been asserted, but will replace them by a system reviving all the worse and more arbitrary elements, which, as it had been fondly thought, had disappeared forever. They can imagine no other termination of a conflict, in which all the powers of an exalted patriotism may be exerted; in which the best and the purest men of a nation may identify themselves with the movement; and in which principles may be proclaimed, appealing to the pride and the self-interest of its people, and which a grateful posterity will treasure as its most precious legacy.

The progress of the masses, with reasoners of this class, is nothing more than a pretty fiction, very well suited for an address to the throne, or the leading column of a government organ, but wholly unworthy of the attention of practical statesmen. Those modifications of social and intellectual character which are presented by the lower classes in some of the nations of Europe—such as, for example, Great Britain, Sweden, and Prussia—are not admitted by these philosophers to affect their prior judgments. Although these modifications may be made the means of a positive reform in the modes of thought of the people, in their manner of living, in the education of their children, in the increase of the comforts and conveniences of life, in that political enlightenment, in short, which would tend not only to relieve a government of many labors, but render it prudent for it to grant them still more important privileges, this school of authors and pamphleteers resolutely persist in refusing credence to a state of things to which the

world is slowly but ceaselessly drifting. The lessons taught by the events of the last eighty years do not seem to possess any value for these men, who hug to their breasts the worst of delusions because they are stamped with antiquity, and discard the noblest of truths because they owe their existence to the necessities of the age in which they live. They never speak of the United States other than in the spirit of perversion; and if they mention the French revolution at all, they use it, as is to be expected, as a powerful argument in favor of privileged classes and against the power of the majority. Garibaldi is a madman, and the independence of Italy a madman's dream.

Upon such principles as we have attempted to describe, these theorists cannot consistently regard with favor the evidences in the United States of enlightenment, of the union of public spirit and public morality, and of the enterprise which, not satisfied with felling the forests of Kansas and Nebraska Territories, has reared an empire in California, and now carries the comforts of the east to beautify the vigorous youth of the west. It is not right, according to them, to attach that importance to the progress of the United States which would be its due were it exerted upon the soil of Europe, in the midst of crowded populations, of prejudices made strong by ages, of modes of thought which have controlled the public mind for centuries; the peculiar form of our government can never be imitated upon a large scale in Europe; the political system of the continent is now too closely connected with the character of the people; and so large a class of the population, superior in intelligence and social position, and possessing a greater stake in the perpetuity of existing institutions, are opposed to any change, that the success of the measure would be rendered difficult by a perpetual conflict of opinions. That there is a great deal of truth in this, no one can deny, and we certainly do not intend to do so. We have surely seen enough of the efforts of a great people, without previous preparation, to depart in a fit of frenzy from the traditions of their government, to leave no traces that there had been distinctions in society or privileged classes, and to inaugurate an era in which popular rights would not be a glittering delusion, but a political certainty. We have seen a people, full of noble and generous impulses, equal in science, literature, and arts to any nation in the world, degraded to a point of cruelty beyond which it would be difficult to conceive that an Abyssinian prince could pass. We have seen the first men in the new

order of statesmen, during the season of their lauded regeneration, fall back in the march of ideas full twenty centuries, and proclaim and practice doctrines which would, we venture to say, have appeared startling to a politician before the days of Herodotus. We have seen, from the filth of ignorance and riot, to which the revolution gave birth, rise, like that loathsome band,

> "Immersed in ordure, that appear'd
> Draff of the human body,"

fiends like Barère and St. Just, who, from being flatterers, gained the right to be executioners and butchers.

It is undoubtedly true that there is some reason in the assertion of the theorists whom we have mentioned, that it would be injudicious, at the present time, to expect, in the application of our principles to the monarchies and empires of Europe, the same success which they have met with in the United States. Their being right does not, however, show that they have labored honestly to be so. Reason and experience, perhaps, would have prevented them from arriving at any other conclusion. But we are quite certain that these have had very little to do with their opinions. They happen to decide justly, but it is, we suspect, by the same inconsequential process as that by which Slender ended in not being able to abide the smell of hot meat after having bruised his shin in playing with a master of fence.

We are inclined to the opinion that our institutions would not, at this point of political enlightenment they have reached, suit at all the people of any of the great nations of Europe. This belief may be one that will meet with but little favor in this country. It may strike that very numerous class of persons whose constant theme is the excellence of free institutions, and their undoubted superiority over all others, with an astonishment resembling that of the *Houyhnhnm* when he heard from Gulliver of the degradation to which his race was subjected in other countries. But we, nevertheless, have entire faith in it. It would be improper to enter here into an examination of the subject. We may, however, find some other occasion to present our opinions in reference to the difference between an enlightened exercise of power by a few persons and a mad abuse of it by a multitude.

The history of the United States is the history of the complete triumph of the free and enlightened principles of representative democracy. It is a record of what can be done by a love of order pervading the whole of society—by a reverence for the laws—by a respect for the rights and interests of their

neighbors—by the enlightenment of that class of society which, occupied in other countries in struggles for existence, live and die without one thought of improvement—by the equable and gratifying progress of religion, when unfettered by restrictive laws and divorced from government. It is the proudest assertion of the capacity of a people to assume the control of its own great interests which the world has ever seen. And that assertion, involving the triumph of the hopes for which the noble martyrs of mankind, in all ages and lands, have freely given up their lives, has been, on the whole, worthily vindicated for more than three-quarters of a century. There may have been differences of opinion of the most exciting character. It is true that there are such differences at this very time. We have seen the public mind stirred to its profoundest depths by the discussion of an important question of political economy, which has occupied more of the attention of the national Congress, and has caused greater anxiety among the people, than any since the formation of the federal Constitution.

To a stranger it would appear that, in some measure, the glorious recollections common to all of the States have been lost in the imminent condition of interests belonging to a few, and that Massachusetts and Virginia, forgetting the bond of union between them in Bunker's Hill and Yorktown, remember only that they are separated by a geographical boundary which they themselves would not find it easy to fix. There is too much truth in this; but there can be nothing more erroneous, we think, than to deduce from it an inference that in our political world the centrifugal are stronger than the centripetal forces. Much unnecessary bitterness of spirit has, it cannot be denied, been exhibited both in the North and South. The press of the country has, at times, teemed with statements calculated, by a system of suspicion without cause, and accusation without proof, not only to represent one section as resolute for disunion, but the other as determined to force them to that fatal extremity. There is no doubt that such views, presented with that ability and vigor which, with few exceptions, mark the productions of our political writers, have produced in some minds a wavering from their devotion to the Constitution. Within late years, too, a party, avowedly sectional in its principles, comprising within its ranks men who have allowed their prejudices to smother the instincts of patriotism, and who would prefer that slavery should be abolished rather than that the Union should be preserved, has arisen in the northern States. But, in despite of all this, we would have no fear of leaving this party and its designs to the decision of the

American people as a unit. And we cannot doubt that their verdict would be rendered in the same spirit which led the Apostle Peter to speak words of noble rebuke of those false teachers who attempted to delude their brethren to their destruction.

"While they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption: for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage."

To the many blessings which our form of government has conferred upon us, it may be said that it has imposed a serious disadvantage in the freedom of comment which we enjoy from the time we are able to form an opinion upon any subject. This license given to speculation is not, indeed, dangerous in itself; far from it. Nor is it so in the great majority of questions in which it is, or may be, exerted. It would be perfectly safe, for instance, for even the most radical disciple of Fourier to discuss his principles before crowded assemblies, and to urge upon them the beauty and superiority of his system. So would it be were one of the high priests of Brgham Young to appear in New York, and use all the powiers Nature or his religion had given him, to prove that Christians had been leading the world astray for centuries, and that Mahomet was somewhat more orthodox than he has been regarded by them. The influence that such doctrines would exert upon our people would, probably, be proportionate to their usefulness. But if these be too near abstractions to please our quick and acute intellect, we have, in compensation, stretched out before us a vast and illimitable field of observation: the course of the administration, its foreign policy; the exercise of the veto power by the President; the frontier difficulty with Mexico; the John Brown outrage; the purchase of Cuba; the admission of new States, and the hundred little questions which depend upon local interests. All these can be discussed by every community, because the policy of the government is the policy of the whole country, and the State and county elections fall properly within the sphere of those whose interests they involve. They form matters for legitimate inquiry on the part of a people who begin their childhood with reading the Declaration of Independence, and pass their lives in giving it a practical exposition.

Freedom of thought and of speech is undoubtedly among the most valuable causes of the intelligence so generally apparent among us. It is, indeed, the most efficient safeguard against corruption in high, and stagnancy in low, places. Without it, we might be a more respectful people; but we would surely be a much more debased and foolish one. Our elections would

be less violent and exciting—there would be less accusations against public officers, and fewer libels upon private parties; but the exemption from the roar and brief madness of popular contests would, probably, end in such an expression of the popular will becoming a recollection of the days when eloquence raised its voice in Faneuil Hall, and the sturdy Democracy shouted its political amens under the roofs of Old Tammany and Bank's Arcade. Those truly good men, who have devoted all their great abilities to the service of the people and the defence of the Constitution, would hear their names, indeed, coupled with fewer reproaches, and their motives and actions less distorted by prejudiced opponents; but who among us could venture to assert how long that noble document would need defenders, and how long we would have a wise statesman in the White House and upright patriots on the Supreme Bench? The masses of the United States, now so full of an intelligent appreciation of their duties as citizens and members of society, would be rendered unfit to send representatives to the Capitol at Washington. If, through the mercy of an overruling Providence and our own ceaseless exertions to preserve unimpaired the purity of the government we have received from our forefathers, this country (to borrow the fine expression of Daniel Webster*) is destined never to afford a topic for another Gibbon, there is no doubt that the continued exercise of the right of discussion by the people will be one of the most conservative elements of its society.

But the very considerations which render this freedom of speech of vast benefit when judiciously used, make it, when misapplied, a source of serious injury to a nation. We shall not, we trust, be suspected of a prejudice against this powerful agent of popular reform, nor of a desire unwisely to restrict its exercise. Indeed, we could scarcely do so, when looking around upon the wonders that it has wrought for us. In no other country is the youth of nineteen found to display a commendable familiarity with the political principles under which he lives. Nor would it be an easy task elsewhere to find a working man giving utterance to remarks, homely, indeed, but full of a shrewd wisdom, upon his relations with his employer, and those of the government with him. Nor, indeed, can it be doubted that the Irishman, for example, who comes to our shores—a victim to poverty and oppression in his own land—is better enabled, after a few years of residence among us, to judge of the merits of an article in the "Herald" than he was to discuss the eloquent appeals of the "Nation."

*Address delivered before the New York Historical Society, February 23, 1852.

The reason of this is evident. In a highly feverish state of society, when the great body of the public form one party and the government another, it is not likely that the questions in dispute will be examined with that close attention to details which would give the former a profound acquaintance with them. The chiefs of the opposition, it is true, find it to their interest to make themselves thoroughly conversant with every light in which the subject may be placed either by friends or enemies. The whole burden of accusation, of proof, of defence, and of vindication, rests upon them. They must understand every argument that can be brought forward on the part of the people; but this is not all. They must possess, likewise, all the advantages which their opponents have—advantages which can be acquired and maintained only by a familiarity with everything that can possibly be found on the files of the government. But the case is reversed with the masses who make up the great popular movement. During the season of a delusive tranquillity, and so long as their necessities do not urge them on, or tyrannical laws render a union expedient for defence, they have but few inducements to become political explorers. Life with them is a hard and bitter struggle with an inimical government which has the power to surround them, their families, their trades and means of living, with numberless restrictions, and does not fail to exercise it. They are patient—not until patience has ceased to be a virtue, but until it has ceased to be possible. They then form associations; they attend meetings at the back of dark alleys, and in houses watched by a guard. They remonstrate through their orators and representative men, but their remonstrances are treated with that neglect with which a government generally treats the complaints of those whom they have injured and do not fear. Then comes the movement, sometimes of communities in concert, but more frequently of communities detached from one another and divided among themselves. The natural result follows. They struggle until their strength is exhausted. They are at length reduced, but not before they have lost, either by banishment or the scaffold, those who, with head and heart, have nobly defended them against powerful adversaries. The government, on the other hand, has lost a few officers and men. The advantage remains, therefore, all on that side which can afford to lose; the loss on that which has placed everything at stake. Before the revolution, the people suffer in silence; while it is in progress, they are under the orders of their leaders, and endure sufferings of another nature; but, during the whole period, they do not attempt to think profoundly upon their mis-

fortunes. The truth is, men in political servitude never learn to be reasoners. They are not better statesmen because they themselves suffer those evils which are the basis of the reforms of statesmen. Those who endure much will, undoubtedly, be found generally to feel intensely; but the sentiment is wholly moral, and carries nothing mental in it. Such persons will be able, perhaps, to give a very graphic description of their wrongs; but it matters very little to them whether what is being done to them is a part of a system which has had its beginning before they were born, and which may be extended to their grandchildren after their death. It is clear, therefore, that in any moment of great political excitement, such as in 1848, when the whole of Ireland was vehement in the assertion of her rights, the people would feel still less inclined to reason with gravity upon the measures which formed the watchword of the confederation. They would, indeed, feel the full force of its appeals, which were made by their champions in their favor; but there can be but little doubt that they would be controlled more by their passions than their judgment.

In the United States, however, the continual discussion of the questions of the day—the morning journal, in which each article is a commentary upon some one of them—and, more than all, their direct reference to the interests of each man, give a powerful impetus to the reasoning faculties of the masses. It would be as impossible, we believe, for our citizens, native-born or naturalized, to be without an opinion upon those subjects in which they are interested, as it would have been for an English Jew in 1828 to remain indifferent to the discussion in Parliament of the propositions presented for the relief of his race. We have heard many intelligent foreigners express a great deal of astonishment that the evils usually attendant upon a constant flow of emigration had not been experienced in this country, and that foreigners were in a short time so completely merged into citizens. But this opinion has not been confined to such persons alone. It has received the sanction of many European writers of merit. Those who may desire to read the latest expositions upon this subject, we would refer to the work of one of the disciples of that class of authors who can see but little to admire and much to condemn in the marvellous progress of the United States.* He was, when his book was published, and, for aught we know to the contrary, is still, a French diplomate, and member of the Asiatic Society of Paris.

* Essai sur l'inégalité des Races Humaines, par M. A. de Gobineau, premier Secrétaire de la Légation de France en Perse, Membre de la Société Asiatique de Paris.—Paris, 1855.

This feature of our institutions is, indeed, a natural cause of surprise; and to those who have been witnesses of the total want of sympathy between a foreigner and the native citizens in the other republics of this continent—even in those in which the laws and the public sentiment are most tolerant—his rapid assimilation among us must appear very strange. But the reason of this, it is not, we believe, difficult to assign. Much may doubtless be ascribed to the liberality of our naturalization laws. But they who would stop here would probably, in seeking for the causes of our national prosperity, go no further than the statutes annually enacted by Congress. We may be wrong, but we are inclined to think that the freedom of the press and of debate is the main source of this fortunate compensation for the dangers which would otherwise be produced by the rapid and immense influx of strangers upon our soil. They come among us, not, indeed, with minds entirely free from other impressions, but with those impressions not sufficiently well-defined to withstand the influence of new political associations. The fact is, that, while in Europe a knowledge of politics among the lower orders is a circumstance, in the United States it becomes a vital necessity.

The foreigner finds himself in the midst of a political and social bee-hive. He is at first confused by the technicality of the questions, and is, perhaps, too busily engaged in finding a suitable place in which to fix his residence to pay any special attention to them. But very soon the clouds that had in the beginning obscured his judgment are dispelled by a rapidly-increasing familiarity with the tone of thought of those among whom he has cast his lot. What evidently interests his neighbors so much, gradually assumes an importance in his eyes, as destined, in time, to bear a similar relation to himself; for, it may be the first time during his life, comes—not dimly as through a mist, nor hemmed in by severe laws which seem to mock at all hope, but clearly and brightly—the proud thought that he, too, has his responsibilities as a man and a citizen, and that it is his duty, by study and diligent inquiry, to become a worthy member of the new society that has opened its arms to receive him. A motive is thus given for exertion, which, of all those that control the heart of man, is the most powerful. He reads the newspapers; he attends public meetings; he no longer neglects to listen to the political discussions that frequently occur between his neighbors; he exchanges opinions. By continual practice, his knowledge becomes more fixed; and, at the proper season, he is found prepared to record a vote, which will

be at once the surest proof of the pride of the man in himself, and of the interest of the citizen in his country. He almost forgets that his birth-place is on a foreign soil; and if he does at times follow with a keener interest the career of Cardinal Wiseman in Ireland, listen with a fiercer joy to the hopes of the regeneration of Italy, or read with a quicker pulse and a more kindling eye the details of the campaign of Magenta and Solferino—all warning him that he is not an American alone—the vote that, with feelings nearer home, he gives to a presidential candidate, tells him equally clearly that his new nationality is the dearer and the closer one.

But we must return from what, we fear, has been too long a digression. We have said enough, we hope, to prove how high is our respect for the advantages to be derived from this valuable preservative of the nationality of sentiment among our people. It is beneficial, so far as it appears to us, however, only so far as it serves, by an interchange of thought and opinions, to remove the evil effects which in any other country would be likely to result from the vast distance which separates many of the members of our confederacy. Its true mission is to harmonize distant States; to destroy whatever distinct nationalities a domestic institution, existing in some of them and not found in others, has a tendency to foster; to make the people one in sentiment and in hopes, as they are one in origin and government.

There have been, upon the whole, gratifying evidences in our history as a nation that these duties of public opinion have been justly appreciated. Its influence has been generally exerted for good—for the reconciliation of grave differences, for the union of the people, for the order and tranquility of the State. It is assuredly pleasing to patriots of all parties to look back upon a long series of years, and, whenever questions discussed with all the violence of political warfare have threatened to destroy that marvellous work reared by our ancestors, to see rise up on every side a conservative spirit, which, basing its strength upon what constitutes the power of the factionists, asserts its rights to be heard as the representative of the nation. But the events of the last few years seem to show that the encroachments of faction have been more than commensurate with the progress of conservatism. The power among a large class of our people to judge rightly upon one important question has apparently become unsettled. Our fellow-citizens in the northern States have assumed the right to pass judgment upon their brethren in the South with reference to the existence of an institution

which the public sentiment there protects. We assuredly have no intention to arraign the motives of the majority for their course. That many are honest in maintaining their opinions, cannot be doubted; that they can maintain them, and be at the same time patriots, is, indeed, not easy to believe; but we feel less inclined to doubt them, when we remember that Patrick Henry, who had done so much to elevate the character of the masses, honestly opposed the ratification of the federal Constitution by Virginia, on the ground of its giving them too many privileges. We have no desire from this to suspect the republicanism of the great orator of the Virginia convention, nor certainly will we hint a suspicion of the patriotism of those who conscientiously believe slavery to be wrong in precept and practice.

There seems reason to suppose, however, that this hostility to an institution has, in some minds, become merged into a bitterness of feeling towards those who support it. Indeed, nothing is more difficult than to determine the precise line which separates our censure of a person's acts and our dislike to him as an individual. The domain of the imagination borders closely upon the domain of the passions. Viewed in relation to each other, a sentiment and a prejudice are, by no means, at the antipodes. The same circumstances that would give a peculiar force to the one, would be likely to react in an equal proportion upon the other. Who can venture, for instance, to affirm how much there was of love of country, and how much of hatred of the man, in the feelings of the English people towards Napoleon, when mothers hushed their babes to sleep by the mere mention of his name, and when squibs and epigrams gave him more vices than Domitian, and scarcely so many good qualities as the Mephistopheles of Gœthe? And we do not doubt that there are many who confound every southern planter with Mrs. Stow's Legree, and deem it their duty to regard him with the same sentiment of aversion as that with which they follow the cruel slave-dealer of a romance, in which the intellectual ingenuity of the authoress is more manifest than either her charity or candor.

What has been the cause of the increase of this sentiment in the North? What has contributed to this strange perversion of nationality, which is shown by our constantly forgetting that we are Americans, and remembering only that we are from the North or the South? What has made of Congress an assemblage of legislators, who try so important a question as that of slavery as though they were feed lawyers, and not statesmen met to remove, during the session, so far as legisla-

tion can do it, all the causes of discontent which may have arisen in the recess?

It is with unfeigned hesitation, indeed, that we hold the freedom of debate in a great measure responsible for these sad consequences. We do not like to believe that an element so fruitful for good has been so powerful for evil. But we fear that what was once a bond of union between the members of a feeble society has become a fosterer of discord at a time when its feebleness has been changed into strength and its proudest hopes into realities. Our people have argued until they have become heated. Intemperance in language has been followed by intemperance in sentiment. A large portion of the public in the North has left the discussion of questions in which they are interested, as affecting their own homes and families, to declaim upon an institution over which they have lost whatever right of comment they once possessed. They have extended this privilege of discussion to a subject which is as much an abstraction for them, under the constitutions they themselves have framed, as Louis Napoleon's claims to Savoy, or the right of a Mormon elder to entertain his religious convictions. They might believe that Savoy would be happier as a dependency of Sardinia than as a province of France; but they surely would not meet as an assembly of tractarians, and send to the French Emperor a solemn declaration of protest, and to the Savoyards warnings of the danger of absorption to which they are exposed by his ambition. They may think—and, in such a case, we would be pleased to agree with them—that the Mormon church is a blot upon our country and upon the civilization of this nineteenth century. But would it not be a violation of the Constitution of that country, and an insult to the principles of that century, to attempt its destruction as the Church of Rome had destroyed the Albigensian heresies, as Charles IX had put down the Protestant spirit in France, as Elizabeth had wished to put down the Catholic spirit in England?

It is due to our northern brethren to say that they have too sound an appreciation of what is consonant with their own dignity to act with so much folly. But it is a proposition that cannot be controverted, that a system everywhere condemned by the New Testament must be worse in its moral influences than one that has received the sanction of wise and inspired men in the same Holy Book. Why, then, do they allow a privilege to the Mormons of Utah Territory which they refuse to grant to their brethren under a common Constitution? Why do they judge with more kindness the greater evil, and visit

their Rhadamanthine terrors upon those who receive the lessons of nationality at the same shrine, and linger with admiring fondness upon the same proud page of a nation's origin and glory? If freedom of conscience in religious matters be allowed by the Constitution, it is equally true that slavery in the southern States is protected by the same high authority. The same principles of criticism that can see in that document a prohibition of slavery, upon the ground that its framers could not anticipate that it would be a vital institution at the end of seventy-two years, can undoubtedly be used to argue against the toleration of an anti Christian religion, for the reason that they could not possibly know that there would be, in 1860, a Mormon settlement upon one of the Territories of the United States. Both of these assumptions would make of the Constitution a convenience for the generation and religious opinions of 1788—not a compact of union and toleration for all generations and all shades of religion.

It is evident, therefore, that, under a form of government like ours, the force of public opinion is beneficial only so far as it is directed against those elements which have a tendency to endanger our institutions. It then becomes a vast agent of good, and accomplishes the very destiny which the statesmen of our revolution foresaw, when they committed us to a republican government, and gave us the noble charter of rights and restrictions, under the guidance of which we have attained to greatness and power during a period numbering, for a nation, no more than the years of a child. There was no reason, at that time, to question the fitness of the people to maintain the institutions their own valor had gained for them. They had been severely tried. But their courage and patriotism had proved equal to the trial. All the previous questions of difference had become lost in one absorbing one. Whether they were to throw madly away advantages which they had, with so many toils and so much blood, acquired, or render them a means to found a government in which equal benefits should be enjoyed by every citizen, was the subject which occupied the minds of all—which clouded their faces with anxiety and their hearts with fear—which gave dignity even to the demeanor of the humblest mechanic. They felt clearly the utter folly of discussing minor interests when their country was threatened with anarchy. Commerce was in a state of stagnancy. The federal government was without separate funds of its own. The different States owed large sums for revolutionary expenses, and their treasuries were empty. Property in land had become ruinously depreciated. The people everywhere were suffering

keenly from the distress surrounding them; and there were contemporary writers who did not hesitate to assert that their condition was worse than in 1777, when patriotism seemed to be on the wane; when toryism ventured forth from its retreats; when whole families answered to the proclamations of General Howe; when Washington and the army retreated before the victorious standards of Cornwallis.

But, fortunately, at this period of general dismay, public opinion was in a healthy state; it understood its true mission; it exerted all its conservative forces, and succeeded in preserving the nation against a formidable combination of perils. The men of that day cared but little for what affected themselves alone. The struggle through which they had just passed, the struggle of another kind through which they were then passing, warned them that they had a grave duty before them. They knew that, for the performance of their duty, one way only was open to them; and that, unless they could resolutely combine all their energies to frame a government which could at once command confidence at home and respect abroad, the bright hopes with which the revolution had commenced would prove as unsubstantial as the enchanted banquet set by Ariel before his master's guests.

It was natural that there should exist an intense anxiety in the minds of all; for the most conservative among them thought that the articles of confederation were as broken reeds in a tempest, during a season when the elements of society were disunited and the state was menaced with universal ruin. But their patriotism was fortunately not a mere holiday sentiment, to glitter brightly in the text of the "Declaration of Independence," or to illuminate a page of the "Crisis" or "Common Sense." It possessed the qualities which the merry lady in the play desired in a husband. It was admirably adapted to working-days, and was not more efficient in adorning a period than in founding and maintaining a magnificent system of free institutions. It could strengthen the heart of the statesman and fill him with hope, at a time when Congress was powerless and the foreign credit of the country could not command a loan on the Bourse of Paris or the Exchange of London. Its consolations were sufficient to cheer the poor man when his labor met with no market, and when he could see nothing but desolation before him. Indeed, the influence which it wrought in the hearts of all classes of society seems, when the situation of the nation is remembered, to have been something marvellous. The statesman forgot for the moment his dreams of personal ambition and the alluring splendors of office; the merchant and

capitalist saw their speculations fail and their means dwindle to almost nothing, and yet remained, in the midst of all, among those most loyal to the principles which had been vindicated by the Revolution. The truth is, the ordinary motives by which men are controlled in seasons of great national peril did not appear to affect at all our forefathers. Intent upon the ultimate benefits to themselves and their posterity which were to flow from their triumph, it was but of little importance to them whether the road leading to so happy a consummation were one of uninterrupted prosperity or of financial depression. Their patriotism produced a Christian patience in the future; their religious feelings, in turn, heightened and strengthened their patriotism. The Constitution was at length presented to them as the remedy for existing and a security against future evils. One by one the States gave in their concurrence, and the republic commenced that career of glory and honor, which, in this year, 1860, fills the hearts of all its children with mingled sentiments of pride and affection.

The contest between a tangible necessity and a purely moral feeling, between pressing want on the one side and a sense of responsibility on the other, between a present evil and a future good, was one for which the history of the world affords no parallel. They had shown how, in the darkest hour, a belief in the justice of their cause could inspire a whole people with a love of God and a confidence in themselves; how soldiers that had refrained from pillage in times of war could prove loyal citizens in times of peace; how a nation that had proved its strength in conflict with brave and resolute enemies could continue to respect laws when their families were destitute and their property without value. Shay's rebellion was a dark spot on this bright underground of patriotism that was most active when want sat at its fireside, and of a love of order which shone more brightly when destitution seemed the only fruit of obedience to the laws.

[TO BE CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT.]

LORD MACAULAY AND HIS HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

In the New York Ledger of the 25th February we find an article written by one of the master minds of the age, in which warm encomiums are passed on Lord Macaulay. The writer, who is universally acknowledged to be as great a philanthopist

as he is a profound scholar, being in love with his lordship as a personal friend and correspondent, tinges all his views, in respect to him as an historian, with *coleur de rose.* Better far for the public, who look with deference to all the writer says in every article coming from his brilliant pen, he had made an anatomical synopsis of the author's works; and given his views as to the manner in which Macauley performed the part of an historian *per se;* irrespective of that charitable weakness called personal friendship, whose motto is *de mortuis nil nisi bonum.*

Let us ask ourselves what history is? Lexicographers say—"It is a narration of events and facts delivered with dignity." Then an historian is a writer or chronicler of events and facts delivered or related with dignity, without adding to, or taking from, those events—without putting forward his prejudices or opinions, but leaving a plain unvarnished narration of facts before the public mind, for it to form its own deductions. Such is the "grand vocation of an historian." To find how far Macaulay is so, we have only to turn over a few pages of his so-called History of England.

History should be as the Scriptures, truthful—a daguerreotype of things past, on which every man could look with confidence, read the honest undistorted facts and events spread before him, as they really happened—plainly; brilliantly if you will, set forth—and judge for himself according to his understanding—requiring neither note nor comment in the text or otherwise. Any other kind of history is false. It matters not how brilliant the style—how fascinating the language—how elaborate the "character painting."

Of all authors, who have dealt in romance, Sir Walter Scott was proudly pre-eminent. Blessed with a fecundity of imagination, he mixed up history with fiction in language "so fascinating," and "character painting" so clear and elaborate, that his readers, who were but slightly conversant with the former, took all his statements as *bona fide* historical facts. Many a time we have heard Blue Stockings send forth, as orthodox history, what they had purloined from the pages of Scott's works of fiction.

Of all the novels which fell from the prolific pen of Sir Walter, that of the "Life of Napoleon" stood out brightest in bold relief before the background of his fame, leaving him without a rival in historical fiction—The brightest luminary in the galaxy of imaginative genius which shed lustre on the early part of the nineteenth century.

The light of this Castor, it appears, is beginning to pale before another star of the first magnitude which has arisen of

late—a very Pollux—in the same firmament of historical romance, and whose works it has become fashionable, like other yellow-backed literature, to read. While Sir Walter shone with a benevolent lambent flame of *ignis fatuus* effulgence, meaning nothing but what was innocuous, his successor, Babington Macaulay, full of national political passion, with an affluence of imagination, has essayed a bolder flight; pours forth with a reckless pen, romance instead of history; or, mingling both with the art of a Serion, tortures and warps all facts to serve the purpose of showing up Great Britain at the expense of truth and justice—Making her appear the most amiable—the most enlightened—the most merciful of all kingly governments. For which *ex parte* daring audacity he got his price in being dubbed a Lord—A Lord for a decade of years!

When Doctor Johnson was told his friend Goldsmith was about writing a work on animated nature, "Then," said the Goliah of Literature, "he will write a fairy tale"—meaning that he knew nothing of the subject he attempted, but that his style and language would make what he did write "fascinating." And so has Macaulay made his history a fairy tale—The one written at the sacrifice of science and natural law—The other at the sacrifice of truth.

Now, let any of us who have read the classic histories of England, and are familiar with their contents, open the volumes of that so-called English history, *hic et ubique*, given us by Lord Macaulay, and bestow on it "something more than a cursory perusal," which is asked for it, though not needed; and then ask ourselves,—Has he been a truthful narrator of events and facts, and no more? and has he placed those events and facts in a dignified manner before the public for it to draw its own conclusions?—If we do, we are sure to find, by his showing, that we must have read Hume and Lingard, and other standard authors, to no purpose; or that they knew little or nothing of what they wrote about.

Even his private friend, in his laudatory, says: "There is no historian whose pages will stand a severe scrutiny better than those of Lord Macaulay," and that "infallible accuracy is not to be claimed for him." He might as well in his eulogium have gone on and said: "Even his feelings leaned to virtue's side." Well, here we have an acknowledgment that his history is not accurate, but "his pages will stand better than others." This is poor apologetic praise to give an historian whose entire duty is, to be a faithful chronicler of the times, facts, and events he places before the public.

His friend says: "With reference to character, it is scarcely

proper that a writer, throwing himself as intimately as Macaulay does into the scenes which he narrates; mingling almost in person in the great contentions of the times, should not occasionally make an erroneous estimate of conduct and motive." Now, let us ask, what has a true historian to do in "throwing himself into the scenes which he narrates;" or, "mingling in the contentions of the times, make an erroneous estimate of conduct and motive." It is not for him, on the basis laid down as the duty of an historian, to make any "estimate of conduct and motive." That is the business of his readers, and not his. He has nothing to do with character. The public have nothing to do with the efflux of *his* mind. It is not for him to fathom the depths of the human heart, its follies, its foibles, or high and noble darings, in a time long gone by; but leave that to those who read his pages. Such an act is to the educated reader a daring presumption.

Here is an extraordinary sentence: "If the writer is himself cold and tame, his page may be accurate, but it will be frigid and cold." It does not follow that because the page is, as history ought to be, "accurate," that it should be "dull and cold." We read all through that Macaulay's style was "brilliant," which means anything but what is cold and dull. Then we must draw the inference that his history is not what history ought to be—"accurate;" and, not being accurate, of what use his brilliancy wanting those "other qualities which," his friend says, "are more important in an historian?"

His eulogist says: "Those particulars which give character to the action or individual are sifted out from the mass of antiquarian chaff, (history,) and wrought into a continuous and flowing narrative; and a coherent and harmonious whole is fashioned out of seemingly discordant parts." And so it is of all novels and romances!—but not of history! Rough, doric truths must be spoken with a "conscientious accuracy of statement."

"His unfavorable estimate of the character of William Penn is called to our recollection," says the writer. Now, let us ask, what has the historian to do in giving *his* "estimate of character?" That is overstepping the bounds of his vocation. He asks, "what motive could he have for an intentional wrong to the memory of the peaceful legislator?"

The high-minded writer cannot see that the prejudices of country and religion cause the obliquity of the understanding of the Briton, and which are the real "motive" power which warps everything to wrong which does not coincide with England's divine institution of church and state. With this

"motive," he chooses to forget the grand maxim of an honest historian—"Nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice."

The writer says: "This (erroneous estimate of conduct and motive) can be wholly escaped only, through the entire absence of that sympathy with the actors in the great world-drama of history." "He is never misled by the fervor of his emotions." Who can subscribe to this that takes up the volume which recites the career of William the Third?—There the fervor of the historian's emotions, and the sympathy with, and the heroworship of, the usurper mislead the writer. He labors to make him appear, *per fas et nefas*, a demigod—that he was guiltless of the infamous violation of the treaty of Limerick—of the cold-blooded massacre of Glencoe—and other acts scarce less barbarous, of which historians have told us before this Pollux had burst upon our mental vision. Shall we find here the "conscientious accuracy of statement" credited to him? We find "the judgment and tact with which *essential* particulars are dropped," because they tell against the English government!

As to the treaty of Limerick, all history goes to show that before two years from the signing of the treaty had passed, that the terms and conditions of that solemn compact, to which was affixed the great seal of England, and rendered sacred by every necessary formality, and which would have been binding to any other power in Europe, was basely violated. Acts of Parliament were passed with indecent haste for its complete nullification; and, by the provisions of the statute called "An act to prevent the increase of popery," was the *præmunire* clause, which stripped the criminal, guilty of worshipping God according to the dictates of his conscience, (as we all do in this country,) of all his goods—depriving him of his liberty and the protection of the laws—rendering him infamous, and, in fine, leaving him nothing but a worthless existence. (Here we have no "minuteness of investigation.") How worthy of the man who wrote to the Emperor of Germany when he was on the point of invading England. We quote from *Dalrymple:*

"I assure your Imperial Majesty I have not the least intention to do any hurt to his Britannic Majesty; and still less to make an attempt upon the crown, or desire to appropriate it to myself Neither have I desired to extirpate the Roman Catholics. Be assured I will employ all my credit to provide that they may enjoy liberty of conscience, and be put out of fear of being persecuted on account of their religion. I have at all times had a great aversion to all sorts of persecution upon religious matters among Christians."

The reader of this impartial history will observe the judgment and tact with which such "unessential particulars" as this quotation from Dalrymple is left out; we would suppose,

if put forward as it ought to have been, it "would give character to the action and the individual;" there was no necessity to "sift it out from the mass of antiquarian chaff;" it was patent on the records. But this is a specimen of the "correctness and precision with which authorities are followed or cited."

Poor ill-fated Ireland was prostrate—all but her honor gone. Resigned to the fate of war, she held sacred the conditions of her surrender. The flower of the Irish army, with its officers of every rank, amounting to upwards of 20,000 men, and which this historian, who is "never misled by the fervor of his emotions," sneers at and scoffs, had expatriated itself to France, leaving her without a guard to protect her in her fallen fortunes, but relying upon the honor of Britain and her King; her weakness was taken advantage of, and a commission formed to confiscate and sweep away the properties of the Irish to pay the lavish expenses of a war carried on by England against herself and her legitimate King—For the Dutch usurper, as Abbe MacGeoghigan truly says, had no right or claim upon the Irish, who neither sent for him, nor dethroned their own King—poltroon as he was.

These commissioners, under royal authority, confiscated within ten years 1,660,792 acres; the value of which amounted then to £3,685,130.

For all this robbery and plunder, in the face of a sacred treaty, this pet of Macaulay, whose Carthagenian faith is patent to the world, in his answer to an address of the House of Commons, says:

"I have been induced, not only by inclination, but through a love of justice, to reward faithful services, particularly those who assisted in the reduction of Ireland out of the properties in that country, the confiscation of which has devolved upon me."

How beautifully that accords and harmonizes with the following on the ratification of the treaty:

"Know ye, that we, having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare that we do, for us, our heirs, and successors, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter and thing, therein contained."

Turn to Macaulay and read—But we have done with him on this subject. The history of Ireland, especially at this time—the reign of the immaculate William, can be traced through that of England as a bleeding man through a crowd. The writers of *her* history may be "cold and tame," for the blood runs cold at the recital of the atrocities practiced on her; their pages are "accurate," but perhaps "frigid and dull" to unwilling ears; "they are sometimes cited, but seldom or never read." "The dust has settled on their faultless volumes" all

crusted with blood, and "cobwebs clasp" in death-like silence and a dread repose "their rarely-opened leaves,"—Because she has been betrayed and conquered! She stands the Niobe of nations, heartless and heedless to the shafts of calumny flung at her by the mercenary hands of miscreant historians, who leave nothing behind them to embalm their memory but the infamy of their acts.

It is pitiable to see how Macaulay labors to clear his hero of all responsibility for the infamous massacre of Glencoe, at the exclusive cost of the Master of the Stair. He follows Burnet, who contradicts himself and prevaricates in his account of the transaction, and says that "William signed the warrant to extirpate the MacDonalds without having read it." A very likely thing indeed! While Dalrymple, whom Macaulay takes care to heed not on *this* occasion, expressly states, that William was "irritated" at the time he signed.

"What motive could Macaulay have for an intentional wrong" in not quoting Dalrymple? "Who can estimate," as his friend says, "the loss to literature of such a writer (?)" Certainly no loss to history which he has so glaringly murdered.

The audacity of this deed of the hero of Glencoe, by which designation William is familiarly known in Scotland, called forth a popular outcry; and he, judging it requisite for his own vindication, *dismissed* Secretary Stair—the stalking horse behind which he acted—"showing," as the London *Times* said, "by the leniency of the punishment, his animosity to the murdered, and some responsibility for their slaughter."

But an extract from the "State Trials" will show what reliance can be placed on the history, so called, of this partial writer:

"In the insurrectionary movements against the government of William in Scotland, several of the Highland families were involved. A free pardon was offered to all who should, by a certain day, come in and take the oath of allegiance to the new government. Amongst those who determined to take advantage of this offer was the chieftain of Glencoe. Before the appointed time expired, he proceeded to the nearest military station for the purpose of taking the oath. The ommanding officer refused to administer the oath, and sent him onward to the cheriff, Depute, but he was not able to reach him until the day had passed. However, the Sheriff, Depute, learning his offer to submit in time, administered to him the oath of allegiance, and sent the man back to his clan, fancying that he was now secure from all danger."

"Advantage was taken of the unintentional omission of Glencoe in not taking the oaths before the proper officer on the day fixed by his Majesty's proclamation, and the determination was come to, as Glencoe *was a Papist, to exterminate him and all his clan, and this determination was sanctioned by the warrant of William III.*"

Then we have Major Duncanon's letter to Captain Campbell, dated "Ballocholis, February 12, 1692:"

"SIR: You are hereby required to fall upon the rebels, the MacDonalds of Glencoe, and put all to the sword under severity. You are to have especial care that the old fox and his sons do, upon no account, escape your hands. You are to secure all the avenues *that no man escape.* This you are to put in execution at five o'clock in the morning precisely; and by that time, or very shortly after it, I will strive to be at you, with a stronger party. If I do not come at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. *This is by the King's special command*, for the good and safety of the country, that *these miscreants may be cut off root and branch.*"

There is history nowhere to be found in Macaulay, nor any reference to it. However, here is the most damning proof of all, from the hand of the miscreant William, himself, but which we do not find in Macaulay's work!

Warrant found in State Trials, vol. xiii, p. 905:

"William R: As for MacDonald of Glencoe, and that tribe, if they can well be distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves.—W. R."

So much for this great and, as we have shown, truthful historian, who became the *fashionable* writer of the day. For years he crept along plodding in the by-ways of an essayest and magazine writer; chagrined at the fame of Bulwer and other novelists, and seeing himself neglected, he acted on the advice of Johnson, who told a literary plodding friend, if he wished to get into notice, and make his fortune by his pen, to "write a libel." This Macaulay has done!

He read long for the purpose—drank from those turbid fountains of contorted history with which England has flooded her dominions, making every country but her own detestable—stored up the draughts in a capacious memory, letting them flow out at intervals over hundreds of pages in a cataclysm of commingled froth and romance, razing in their rage all impartial authorities, and leaving behind the marks of a bigoted spirit on every circumstance and event that would not tally with the glory of his country.

Historical truth is lost often in philosophic speculations, for British interest must be sustained at its sacrifice. Essayist, novelist, and poet, he cannot well be anything else. He rounds his periods in a matrix stolen from Junius, but the offspring of the mould needs the hand of a master to file down the asperities the tyro workman has left, and the material at best limps behind the great original.

His historic style, and the sentences and words which go to form it, smell of the lamp, and show them as weighed in scales whose equilibrium he studies by a sort of jaundiced intuition. Without the dilucid strength and nervous vigor of original genius requisite for an historian, he studies and labors like an actor, for a deliberate purpose and elaborate effect, illus-

trating his own words when he says: "Experience proves that there are some distempered minds for which notoriety has an irresistible fascination."

His best sentences are illustrations; "elaborate character painting," and show in strongest light the calibre of his mind. No philosophic wisdom, deep, full, and powerful, rolls through his pages, bearing along severe yet just, political truths, instructing, enlivening, and invigorating the human mind thirsting after knowledge, untainted by prejudice; but one turbid tide, dragging its slow length along, which, instead of fertilizing in its flow, bears nothing but a phosphorescent creation that dazzles, but guides and instructs not.

The massive strength and leviathan power of Gibbon—The grandeur and stateliness of Hume—though he imitates both—are not found in his history; nothing but the subtle logic of a romantic mind, winding its coils around the reader's intellect, like the snakes around Laocoon, till it becomes passive to the struggle, and yields without a thought. Read him attentively, and you will find he ever breaks off abruptly where he is unable to use sophistry, or where facts must of necessity break in and shed a light upon the motives and actions of parties who disregarded the laws of civilized nations or the rights of the people.

His miscellaneous essays and other works, against which we say not a word, gained him a reputation; and the English aristocracy, ever glad to have an advocate or apologist for the crimes of the adventurers who followed William as well as Cromwell, encouraged him on the appearance of the first volumes of his history. They believed all he said, because they wished it to be so. He went on, showing coolness in his daring as he handles those parts of the history of their country most marked by wilful excesses in shedding blood and expending treasure; and every event not chiming exactly with the standard he has laid down, he treats as apocryphal as he did the early history of Rome.

Once fashionable in England, bookmakers pirated the work, advertised it as fashionable, rousing up "intense curiosity" by newspaper notices paid for, and spread *cheap* editions, as they did other yellow-backed literature of the day, all over this country.

We are told that his readers "felt, when they rose from the entertainment, that the half had not been told them;" and so it is of many of the novels of Scott.

THE GROWTH OF SARDINIA.

THERE are moments in the life of man when his character, his whole existence is changed—when *his life seems bound in volumes*, and he lays down one to take up the as yet unopened continuation. What that second volume may contain is to him a problem which time alone can solve; and, as it is with man, so is it with nations. Most forcibly illustrative of this fact is the present position of Sardinia, whose statesmen, having perused the last page of the volume, now open to the world the as yet uncut leaves of a new one; and in the hope of finding a clue to the future, it may not be uninteresting to reperuse the past. Even though we may fail in this attempt to peep into the future, still the past history of the house of Savoy presents a spectacle curious and interesting to a contemplative mind. In it we see demonstrated the dire effects of jealousy, more strongly even than in the case of individuals; as though a state were a giant individual exhibiting, tenfold increased, the passions of the pigmies that cluster about his feet. And, indeed, we cannot wonder at it; for as long as states are ruled by the whims and passions of their rulers, a state can but be a magnifying mirror, reflecting with greater grossness the objects presented to it.

Sardinia, however, has not been the *jealous* party, but she has, like a sly Italian, taken advantage of the jealousies which surrounded her to aggrandize and enrich herself.

Fortunate in prudent and warlike rulers, and aided by a singularly happy geographical position, commanding the key to the ice-bound Alps, we behold her rise from a very insignificant and petty duchy to a first-class power; dictating where she formerly sued, and destined, perhaps, to be dreaded by the very powers that raised her into eminence.

It will suffice for our purpose to go back as far as the days of Charles V, justly termed "the Great," when we find the little duchy of Savoy past her introductory pages, and about to enter on the brightest portion of her history.

The immensity of the Spanish empire had given rise to innumerable jealousies in all the cabinets of Europe, and even at that early period we find that bugbear of modern cabinets, the principle of "balance of power in Europe," which had been suggested, first, by jealousy, and afterwards *forced* upon Europe by the principle of self-preservation, threatening to involve Europe in a general war. The extinction of the houses

of Visconti and Anjou, leaving the ducal seat of Milan and the throne of Naples empty, gave France, in furtherance of this principle, a pretext to interfere in Italian affairs; and it was not until the defeat of Pavia, and the capture of their knightly sovereign, Francis I, that they admitted the claim of Charles to those dominions.

The death of Charles V was the signal for the long pent-up jealousies to burst forth. The mighty power which had been for so long a time a continual threat to all Europe was to be *broken*—which it was, amid fierce dissensions, involving the whole civilized world, and making empires but the shuttlecocks of arms and diplomacy.

Austria was fain to be content with Burgundy, Lombardy, Sardinia, and Naples. Piedmont got Sicily, which was later exchanged for Sardinia, and the ducal house of Savoy was elevated to a kingly rank

In the meantime Savoy was blessed by having wise statesmen and crafty princes, who never let an opportunity pass to increase their little possessions. Some one says that "Fortune knocks at every man's door at least *once* in his lifetime, and it is only the fool who shuts the door in her face." Savoy has been favored with many visits from blind Fortune, and has never closed the door until after the old dame had crossed the threshold.

Favored, as we have already said, in her peculiar geographical position—commanding the key to the lofty and ice-bound Alps, we behold the singular spectacle of a kingdom built up by the rivalry of two powerful neighbors. It is true that it is not always desirable for a small state to be thus placed between two powerful neighbors, but she was protected by their intense rivalry and hate, neither being willing to see the key to the Alps fall into the other's hands

At the same time she formed for them at once a check and a protection; flattered by both, she knew so well to take advantage of her quasi-favorable position, that we find her at the end of the Napoleonic wars, increased by the acquisition of Genoa, raised to the second power in Italy.

At that period her neighbors, the Lombards, found themselves under the comparatively mild rule of the Austrians, and appeared both content and loyal. Italy did not escape, however, the effects of the storm of revolution which brought Louis XVI to the scaffold, and which swept like a whirlwind over Europe, carrying with it new and burning thoughts, the tools of many petty ambitions, and the germs of much future bloodshed. In France Napoleon arose, like the glorious sun

bursting through a thunder-storm, to allay the gory flood of terrific passions that had concealed themselves beneath the masks of patriotism and liberty. A German writer, of rank and ability, in speaking of the gratitude that the world owes Napoleon, says: "Ich weiss, dass es einem Deutschen nicht zusteht, den Lobredner Napoleons zu machen. Doch mag man immerhin denken über ihn wil man will, er war es, der den Höllenschlund der französischen revolution verstopfte, der Frankreich weise Gesetze gab, die religion wieder herstellte und Frankreich in die familie des gesitteten Europa's zurückführte;" (I know that it is not proper for a German to sing the praises of Napoleon; still, one may think what they will of him, but *he* it was who stilled the infernal horrors of the French revolution—he it was who gave wise laws to the land, raised up again religion, and returned France to the great family of civilized nations.)

The same writer says: "The outbreaks which occurred on every hand as soon as Napoleon's back was turned, show how little sympathy the Italians entertained for the French ideas of liberty at that time. But it was not that they failed in sympathy for the novel and startling ideas which France had given forth to the world. It was that *they wished to remain national*, and not be incorporated as an insignificant *part* in the immense French empire. A love of nationality must not be construed into a dislike for liberty. It was not that they did not wish to be *free*; it was that they did not wish to become *French*—it being one of the peculiarities arising from this strong nationality that their rulers must be of themselves, must *reside* among them, must speak their language, and, above all, must *have his associations among them.*

It is clear, then, that Italy had *not* escaped the new and burning thoughts thrown out by that revolutionary volcano—France.

Sardinia was one of the very few powers that understood how to divert this threatening danger from its channel, and to lead it into one advantageous to her already ambitious policy. Like clever engineers, her statesmen sought some weak point in a neighboring state to form the channel of this threatening stream. The rich and fertile plains of Lombardy, peopled by a fiery and intelligent race, jealous of their language and their rights, and, above all, *morbidly suspicious*, presented a proper bed wherewith to form the channel of this stream so ruinous to Austria and so profitable to Sardinia.

The proud, suspicious Lombard; the crafty, bribe-devouring Venetian, were fine elements to work upon, and success crowned

her efforts in a very great degree. The proud nobles were taught that they were excluded from the favors of the Austrian court, whilst they were laden with favors from the Sardinian court. The common people were told that they were taxed heavier than the other Austrian provinces, and taught to regard the Austrians as their natural enemies; the facts (as any unprejudiced observer may perceive) being precisely the same as in Hungary before 1848, the nobles having in both instances ground down the people.

Austria, composed as she was of the most incongruous elements, showed no confidence in any of her subjects, and perhaps created infidelity on the part of her provinces by her continual distrust. Sardinia all this time while professing the utmost friendship for the Austrian court, even seeking her alliance by marriage, had her secret agents at work creating, or, at least, directing the seething caldron which has since produced so much *materiel* for present and future statesmen to settle.

We do not purpose in this article to enter upon the very hackneyed subject of "the Austrian rule in Italy." Much of what has been stated is no doubt true, though much more is undoubtedly false. The desire of the Italians for a separate individuality in the family of nations, *as a nation*, has not been, in our humble opinion, sufficiently dwelt upon by writers on the subject. A Venetian of position once remarked, "Rather let us be national and not free, than free and not national!"

Neither is it our intention to touch upon the governments of Central Italy, nor that of Naples; they being quite irrelevant to this subject.

The Austrian ambassador was still at Turin when the declaration of war of 1848 was made, and Austria was totally unprepared for such a course on the part of Sardinia. We will not follow the details of that eventful war. Charles Albert, a brave and ambitious soldier, when about to behold the darling dream of his ambition realized, was driven back by the wonderful genuis of Radetzky, and forced to conclude a hasty peace before the very gates of his capital. He died, not as his son has since said, "a martyr to the cause of Italian independence," but a victim to his ambition and the grasping policy of his state.

The campaign of 1849 showed Sardinia that she was not yet strong enough to stand alone against Austria, even though secretly aided by England, who, although bragging of her fabled freedom, had long been trying to get a "*moral*" foothold in Italy. It was felt necessary to draw closer to some great power.

France was the nearest, and to France the advances were made. Some far-sighted men in Austria now already beheld the point from which the next tempest would come. A wise and thorough diplomatist, now in this country, could testify, if he would, to the words used by Count Buol, the Austrian minister of foreign affairs; and these words deserve to be recorded, for they were uttered even long before the marriage alliance between France and Sardinia was on the *tapis*. Count Buol said: "The next war that Austria will have will be with France."

Sardinia, without lessening her efforts in Lombardy and Venetia, brought into play her successful undermining policy in all the other Italian states; particularly in those states where Austria, urged on by self-protection, had sought to form alliances. Victor Emanuel, besides being an able soldier and energetic prince, was fortunate in having a man who understood his idea, and who was every way fitted to carry it out. This man was Cavour, whose singular energy and talent has successfully checkmated Napoleon III—which is saying much.

The later events are too fresh in the memory of every one to need to be recalled. Victor Emanuel, having sacrificed his daughter to his ambition, could not hesitate to offer up the cradle of his forefathers, and Savoy passed from his possession, to be made up, however, by the acquisition of Lombardy, Parma, Modena, the Romagna, and Tuscany. He has lost the key to the Alps, but has made Sardinia a first-class power, and perhaps strong enough to do without it.

We have now followed her history up to the close of another volume, and it may be as well to ask, have we obtained any clue to her future policy? We think so; or if we have not as yet, let us turn to the account of the entry of the King of Sardinia into the Tuscan metropolis, given by the correspondent of the London Times. He says: "The King's glance is for a moment fixed on a particular spot. In the midst of so many thousands of banners he spies three banners. These banners are of the largest, but they are all veiled over with crape. The names of Venice, Rome, Naples, hang at the staff's point. A sudden emotion is perceptible in the King's countenance. He has hitherto only bowed. He now takes off his hat. He reads his people's thoughts, and shares them."

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American Bank-Note Company,

48 MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE.

NEW YORK, *August* 1, 1859.

All the Bank-Note Engraving Companies of the United States having completed their arrangements for the union of their respective establishments, and having been duly incorporated by law under the title of the **AMERICAN BANK-NOTE COMPANY**, beg to inform the public and the Banks that they are now carrying on their business at the under-mentioned cities, in buildings eminently calculated to afford every security from danger by fire, or otherwise, that the prolonged experience of years has shown necessary, and constructed especially for their purposes.

The business of engraving and printing bank-notes requires the union of large capital, with artistic and mechanical talents of the highest order. Such a union is already accomplished by this Company, which is able to produce, in extensive variety, all the different kinds of work composing a bank-note in a style of excellence that will afford every known security against counterfeiting and alterations.

This Company now combines the united skill and experience of all the former engraving firms, with the most perfect division of labor. It brings to bear all improvements in machinery. It offers the opportunity of selection from the whole material formerly in use, as well as the additions thereto which are constantly being made. It gives the greatest possible security by superior perfection of work and protection of plates and impressions against fire. It places the business on a permanent footing, protecting the community against contingencies that might arise from the dissolution or derangement of any particular firm.

With a sense of the responsibility resting upon them, the trustees believe they have made adequate provision for executing their trust with credit to themselves and to the satisfaction of the public, and respectfully ask that the patronage which has been extended to the separate firms may be continued to them in their corporate capacity.

The business of the Company will be continued at *New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Montreal, Cincinnati, Chicago, and New Orleans.*

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